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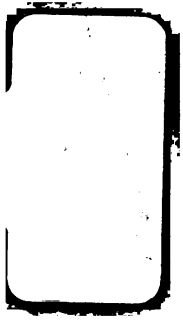

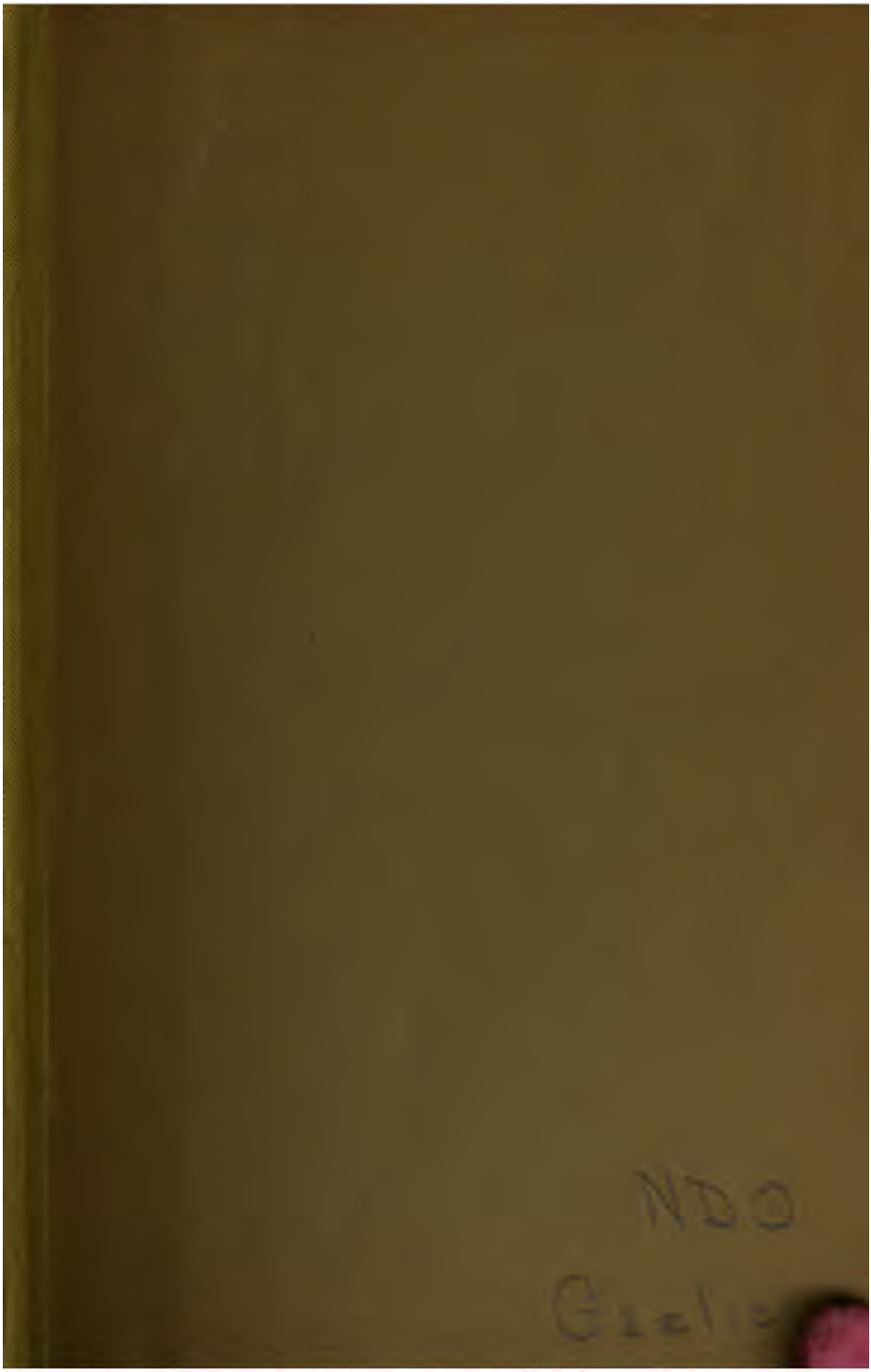
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TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS.

VOLUME XXII.

1897-98.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

GAELIC SOCIETY

OF INVERNESS.

VOLUME XXII.

1897-98.

Clann nan Gaidheal an Guaillean a' Cheile

Inverness:
THE GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS

1900.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE present volume, the XXII. of the series, contains the Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness for the Session 1897-1898, one year's work. The Council regret the delay in its publication, but owing to various circumstances, connected mostly with the character of the papers in the volume, the delay has been unavoidable. It will be seen that the work possesses the usual characteristics of the Society's volumes, and is quite up to the excellent standard attained to in the last eleven volumes of the Society. Out of the mass of good work therein, it is, however, not out of place to draw attention to Mr Robertson's translation of Dr Stern's "Ossianic Heroic Poetry," and this for two reasons: the translation from the German was a most arduous task, both on account of the length of the paper and the difficulty of "scientific" German, and, secondly, the extreme importance of the paper, for never before has the Ossianic question been handled so concisely, so completely, and in so scholarly a way as by Dr Stern.

Some donations to the Society's Library fall to be noticed because of their value both in money and matter. Mr Mackay, Hereford, presented the recently published volumes of "Carmina Gadelica," by Mr Carmichael, a three guinea work, and also the more expensive and sumptuous work, Gibb's "Royal House of Stuart." The authors, Revs. A. and A. Macdonald, presented the Library with the handsome second volume of their "Clan Donald," as they did in the case of their first volume; Mr David MacRitchie, the folk-lorist, has presented all his publications, and there have been several other kind donors.

Since our last Introduction (Vol. XXI.) was penned in March, 1899, some prominent members have been removed from our roll by death. Sir Kenneth S. Mackenzie of Gairloch, our senior Honorary Chieftain, died on 6th February, 1900. He had been twice Chief of our Society—in 1874 and 1892—and he took a great interest in the Society's work; indeed, a paper of his delivered before the Society will appear in our next volume. Sir Kenneth took a prominent part in the public affairs of the Highlands—sitting on Royal Commissions, and directing, as Chairman, the business of the County Council of Ross and Cromarty, of which county he was Lord-Lieutenant. And following hard on Sir Kenneth's death was the announcement of the death of Æneas Mackintosh of The Doune, brother of The Mackintosh, who had gone to Los Angelos, in California, in search of health, and died there. 'Cluny Macpherson of Cluny Macpherson died on the 18th August, 1900, at the age of 64. He was Chief of our Society in 1897. He had seen service in the Crimea and in the Sepoy war, and was at his death Brigadier-General of the Northern Volunteers. While this Introduction is being read in proof, we learn with much regret of the death of Dr Alexander Stewart, better known as "Nether Lochaber," eminent as a folklorist, popular naturalist, and Highland "seannachie."

The literary work done, both in Gaelic and English, bearing on the Highlands during the last two years has been very considerable. Mr Alexander Carmichael's "Carmina Gadelica, Ortha nan Gaidheal," is one of the most important books ever published in connection with Gaelic. It contains the old hymns, prayers, incantations, and like poetic lore of the Roman Catholic population of the Western Isles, and its value to the folklorist is inestimable. The Gaelic is often so old as to be unintelligible. The third volume of Mr Macrury's "Arabian Nights" in Gaelic has appeared; and a "Leabhar Laoidh" (Glasgow Highland Mission) appeared in 1899. Rev. A. Maclean-Sinclair is collecting the work of the Maclean bards into two neat volumes, entitled the "Clan Maclean Bards," one of which is issued; while Dr Keith N. Macdonald has written an account of the

"Macdonald Bards from Mediæval Times," with ample quotations.

Of the more purely English literature dealing with the Highlands, clan histories take a foremost place. First in time is Rev. Alexander Macrae's "Clan Macrae," a painstaking piece of work, done mainly on genealogical lines, with valuable appendices. Rev. Don. D. Mackinnon has published a pleasant work on his clan, entitled "Memoirs of Clan Fingon." Rev. A. Maclean-Sinclair has published the "Clan Gillean"—a history of the great Clan Maclean, a work worthy of the clan's past. Two second volumes have appeared. The second volume of "Clan Donald," by Revs. Angus and Archibald Macdonald, is even better than their excellent first volume. Miss Murray Macgregor has issued the second volume of her "Clan Macgregor," characterised by the same good points as her first volume. Another history of the Highlands has entered the field: Dr Dugald Mitchell's "History of the Highlands and Gaelic Scotland"—a bulky volume of over 700 pages, and the historical matter is up to the level of Skene's work. The only parochial history we have had for the last two years is Dr Forsyth's "In the Shadow of Cairngorm," a history of Abernethy, which happily combines literature and facts. Mr Andrew Lang has published his sumptuous (three guinea) work on "Prince Charles," which is marked by that writer's usual characteristics, especially on Jacobite subjects; the standpoint is depreciatory, though an attempt is honestly made not to be so. Mr Lang's first volume of the "History of Scotland" bears on Highland ethnology and history, but in Celtic matters it is worthless, if not worse. A posthumous work by the late Rev. J. G. Campbell, of Tiree, has been published; it is entitled "Superstitions of the Highlands of Scotland"—a very good work of its kind. The late Mr James Macdonald, author of "Strathbogie Place-names," left material, more or less incomplete, for a volume (Spalding Club) on "Place-names of West Aberdeenshire." It is well done. Just newly out is a purely Inverness book—Miss Anderson's "An Inverness Lawyer and his Sons," where we have the interesting family history of the Andersons of the famous "Guide to the Highlands."

Some reprints of importance have also appeared, and, first, we are much pleased to see a reprint of "Caraid nan Gaidheal" (published in Edinburgh by Norman Macleod), at one-half its original cost (now at 7s 6d). Another edition of Rob Donn has appeared, with music for 50 of the poems, a valuable vocabulary by Rev. Adam Gunn, and other notes and essays, where the Calder question is again, but temperately, discussed (publisher, John Mackay). Mr Cameron's "Gaelic Names of Plants" is also again issued (John Mackay). MacIan's two works on the "Costume of the Clans" and "Highlanders at Home" have also been issued, the sumptuous originals being reduced to half size, but yet complete and handy (David Bryce). Mr Lachlan Macbean's "Songs and Hymns of the Gael, with Translation and Music," has also been issued.

The most important work from a Gaelic standpoint, published outside Scotland, is Dr Douglas Hyde's "Literary History of Ireland," which ought to be of extremely great service to every Gaelic student. The lately started Irish Text Society have already published three volumes, the second of which is an edition of the famous old Irish story "Fled Bricrend," or Bricrenn's Feast, edited with translation and excellent notes by Dr George Henderson, author of "Leabhar Nan Gleann." Mr A. W. Moore, M.A., Speaker of the House of Keys and author of "Surnames and Place-Names of the Isle of Man," has just published a "History of the Isle of Man," marked by the excellencies of his former work; and Prof. Rhys is also joint author in a history of the Welsh People, where he once more propounds his well-known views on British ethnology. On the Continent there has been the usual output of periodical literature, the first part of the fourth volume of Windisch and Stokes' Irische Texte being the latest to hand. The "Macphersonic" side of Gaelic matters is still vigorously represented by "Fiona Macleod," whose fancies and fictions are taken seriously by the Anglo-Saxon public. Mr Neil Munro has added greatly to his reputation by another Highland novel—"Gillean the Dreamer."

INVERNESS, January, 1901.

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COMUNN GAELIG INBHIR-NIS.

CO-SHUIDHEACHADH.

1. 'S e ainm a' Chomuinn "COMUNN GAILIG INBHIR-NIS."

2. 'S e tha an rùn a' Chomuinn:—Na buill a dheanamh iomlan 's a' Ghailig; cinneas Canaine, Bardachd agus Ciuil na Gaidhealtachd; Bardachd, Seanachas, Sgeulachd, Leabhraichean agus Sgriobhanna 's a' chanain sin a thearnadh o dhearmad; Leabhar-lann a chur suas ann am baile Inbhir-Nis de leabhraichibh agus sgriobhannaibh—ann an canain sam bith—a bhuineas do Chaileachd, Ionnsachadh, Eachdraidheachd agus Sheanachasaibh nan Gaidheal, no do thairbhe na Gaidhealtachd; còir agus cliu nan Gaidheal a dhion; agus na Gaidheil a shoirbheachadh a ghna ge b'e ait' am bi iad.

3. 'S iad a bhitheas 'nam buill, cuideachd a tha gabhail suim do runtaibh a' Chomuinn; agus so mar gheibh iad a staigh:—Tairgidh aon bhall an t-iarradair, daingnichidh ball eile an tairgse, agus, aig an ath choinneamh, ma roghnaicheas a' mhor-chuid le crannchur, nithear ball dhith-se no dheth-san cho luath 's a phaidhear an comh-thoirt; cuirear crainn le ponair dhubh agus gheal, ach, gu so bhi dligheach, feumaidh tri buill dheug an crainn a chur. Feudaidh an Comunn Urram Cheannardan a thoirt do urrad 'us seachd daoine cliuiteach.

4. Paidhidh Ball Urramach, 's a' bhliadhna.	£0	10	6
Ball Cumanta	0	5	0
Foghlainte	0	1	0
Agus ni Ball-beatha aon chomh-thoirt de.	7	7	0

5. 'S a' cheud-mhios, gach bliadhna, roghnaichear, le crainn, Co-chomhairle a riaghlas gnothuichean a' Chomuinn, 's e sin—aon

GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS.

CONSTITUTION.

1. The Society shall be called the "GAELIC SOCIETY OF INVERNESS."

2. The objects of the Society are the perfecting of the Members in the use of the Gaelic language; the cultivation of the language, poetry, and music of the Scottish Highlands; the rescuing from oblivion of Celtic Poetry, traditions, legends, books, and manuscripts; the establishing in Inverness of a library, to consist of books and manuscripts, in whatever language, bearing upon the genius, the literature, the history, the antiquities, and the material interests of the Highlands and Highland people; the vindication of the rights and character of the Gaelic people; and, generally, the furtherance of their interests whether at home or abroad.

3. The Society shall consist of persons who take a lively interest in its objects. Admission to be as follows:—The candidate shall be proposed by one member, seconded by another, balloted for at the next meeting, and, if he or she have a majority of votes and have paid the subscription, be declared a member. The ballot shall be taken with black beans and white; and no election shall be valid unless thirteen members vote. The Society has power to elect distinguished men as Honorary Chieftains to the number of seven.

4. The Annual Subscription shall be, for—

Honorary Members	£0 10 6
Ordinary Members	0 5 0
Apprentices	0 1 0
A Life Member shall make one payment of .	7 7 0

5. The management of the affairs of the Society shall be entrusted to a Council, chosen annually, by ballot, in the month of

Cheann, tri Iar-chinn, Cleireach Urramach, Rùnaire, Ionmhasair, agus coig buill eile—feumaidh iad uile Gailig a thuigsinn 's a bhruidhinn; agus ni coigear dhiubh coinneamh.

6. Cumar coinneamhan a' Chomuinn gach seachduin o thoiseach an Deicheamh mios gu deireadh Mhàirt, agus gach ceithir-la-deug o thoiseach Ghiblein gu deireadh an Naothamh-mios. 'S i a' Ghailig a labhrar gach oidhche mu'n seach aig a' chuid a's lugha.

7. Cuiridh a' Cho-chomhairle la air leth anns an t-Seachdamh-mios air-son Coinneamh Bhliadhnail aig an cumar Co-dheuchainn agus air an toirear duaisean air-son Piobaireachd 'us ciuil Ghaidhealach eile; anns an fheasgar bithidh co-dheuchainn air Leughadh agus aithris Bardachd agus Rosg nuadh agus taghta; an deigh sin cumar Cuirm chuideachdail aig am faigh nithe Gaidhealach roghainn 'san uirghioll, ach gun roinn a dhiultadh dhaibh-san nach tuig Gailig. Giulainear cosdas na co-dheuchainne le trusadh sonraichte a dheanamh agus cuideachadh iarraidh o 'n t-sluagh.

8. Cha deanar atharrachadh sam bith air coimh-dhealbhadh a' Chomuinn gun aontachadh dha thrian de na'm bheil de luchd-bruidhinn Gailig air a' chlar-ainm. Ma 's miann atharrachadh a dheanamh is eiginn sin a chur an ceill do gach ball, mios, aig a' chuid a's lugha, roimh'n choinneamh a dh'fheudas an t-atharrachadh a dheanamh Feudaidh ball nach bi a lathair roghnachadh le lamh-àithne.

9. Taghaidh an Comunn Bard, Piobaire, agus Fear-leabharlann.

Ullaichear gach Paipear agus Leughadh, agus giulainear gach Deasboireachd le run fosgailte, duineil, durachdach air-son na firinn, agus cuirear gach ni air aghaidh ann an spiorad caomh, glan, agus a reir riaghailtean dearbhta.

January, to consist of a Chief, three Chieftains, an Honorary Secretary, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and five other Members of the Society, all of whom shall understand and speak Gaelic; five to form a quorum.

6. The Society shall hold its meetings weekly from the beginning of October to the end of March, and fortnightly from the beginning of April to the end of September. The business shall be carried on in Gaelic on every alternate night at least.

7. There shall be an Annual Meeting in the month of July, the day to be named by the Committee for the time being, when Competitions for Prizes shall take place in Pipe and other Highland Music. In the evening there shall be Competitions in Reading and Reciting Gaelic Poetry and Prose, both original and select. After which there will be a Social Meeting, at which Gaelic subjects shall have the preference, but not to such an extent as entirely to preclude participation by persons who do not understand Gaelic. The expenses of the competitions shall be defrayed out of a special fund, to which the general public shall be invited to subscribe.

8. It is a fundamental rule of the Society that no part of the Constitution shall be altered without the assent of two-thirds of the Gaelic-speaking Members on the roll; but if any alterations be required, due notice of the same must be given to each member, at least one month before the meeting takes place at which the alteration is proposed to be made. Absent Members may vote by mandates.

9. The Society shall elect a Bard, a Piper, and a Librarian.

All Papers and Lectures shall be prepared, and all Discussions carried on, with an honest, earnest, and manful desire for truth; and all proceedings shall be conducted in a pure and gentle spirit, and according to the usually recognised rules.

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TRANSACTIONS.

ANNUAL ASSEMBLY.

The Twenty-fifth Annual Assembly of the Society was held in the Music Hall, Inverness, on Thursday evening, 8th July, 1897. The hall was filled in every part. Mr Charles Fraser-Mackintosh of Drummond, LL.D., occupied the chair, and was supported by Colonel Alex. Macdonald, Portree; Rev. Father Bisset, Nairn; Rev. Mr Sinton, Dores; Mr William Mackay, Solicitor; Dr F. M Mackenzie; Mr Alex. Fraser, Inspector of Branches, Bank of Scotland; Mr Steele, Bank of Scotland, Inverness; Brigade-Surgeon Colonel Grant; Mr Kenneth Macdonald, Town-Clerk; Mr W. J. Watson, Rector, Royal Academy; Mr Alex. Mackenzie, publisher; Mr Thomas A. Mackay, British Linen Bank; Mr D. Macfarlane; and Mr John Maclennan, New Zealand; Mr Duncan Mackintosh, secretary; and Mr Alexander Macdonald, assistant secretary.

The party were played on to the platform by Pipe-Major Ronald Mackenzie, Gordon Castle, the piper to the Society; and at the beginning of the proceedings the artistes rendered "God Save the Queen," in the language of the Gael, in honour of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee.

The Secretary having submitted apologies for unavoidable absence from a number of well-known members of the Society,

The Chairman, who was cordially received, said:—I am always glad to have the opportunity of appearing before a meeting such as this at Inverness. The great matter of conversation at this time has been the Diamond Jubilee of Her Majesty, and you will all agree that it has been celebrated in a manner worthy of so interesting an event. Inverness, as all who saw the display

will testify, proved itself equal to the occasion. Those in authority, from the Provost downwards, carried out in the most satisfactory manner the ample programme which the liberality of the townspeople and their neighbours enabled them to undertake. This is the great Jubilee year, and it also happens that the Inverness Gaelic Society is in the 25th year of its existence; and though at a modest distance, we celebrate its "silver jubilee" with thankfulness for its past successful progress. It is a cause of thankfulness that many of the founders of the Gaelic Society still live and prosper, and while regretting that some of our number have been called away, such as, taking one illustration only, my old friend, Mr John Noble, bookseller, whose interest in Gaelic literature and old Gaelic books was so valuable and useful—I say, while we feel this regret, yet, on the other hand, a society like ours cannot exist without new blood; and to such as have lately joined we bid a hearty welcome, and in particular to Mr Thomas Mackay, banker; Mr A. Mackintosh, of the Customs; and last, but not least, Mr John Mackintosh, solicitor, who has in Glasgow distinguished himself in connection with Gaelic, and who has taken the somewhat bold step of summoning a "Mòd," shortly to be held at Inverness, without fear of result, though held by or under the presidence of a Mackintosh. I think I may say that Gaelic sentiments and feelings actively continue in increasing volume. Directed, as these are, in no hostility to our Constitution, giving no offence to other people with whom we are united, we at the same time, in a firm and united resolve, cherish the past, conserve the present, and perpetuate our future as Highlanders, and by so doing occupy a position that no assailant can overcome. Our Society may be classed as the head of all the numerous clan and other associations connected with the Highlands. We have issued a large number of volumes, containing a vast amount of useful and valuable information. But no society can stand still. The moment it does, decay sets in, and while the number of Highland Associations is great, at the same time much of their force and activity is wasted. At this moment Highland and Gaelic Societies are scattered over the wide bounds of the British Empire, just as our own colonies and dependencies, owing allegiance to Queen Victoria. According to my views, no more brilliant or valuable conception for the continuance and prosperity of the British Empire and its extension could be imagined than that first started in a definite form by Canada,

under the instigation of Mr Laurier. That it will in due time prove successful we must all hope. Now, following out Mr Laurier's ideas, let all Highland and Gaelic Societies, while preserving their entire independence and activity within their respective sphere, federate into one great whole. Let us, the remnants of a once numerous Highland people in their own land, hold out the hand of brotherhood and confederation to those expatriated, some from necessity, some from choice. Thus, wherever they are, in America, Australia, Africa, or elsewhere, they will cherish and think of the Old Country with respect and reverence, and, if properly approached, there is good reason to believe that they would cordially reciprocate our overtures, and join in closer links, making the position of Highlanders stronger than ever.

The Chairman then introduced the programme of music for the evening, the musical part of which was well sustained by Mr R. Macleod, Inverness; Mr Angus Brown, Glasgow; Mrs Munro, Strathpeffer; and Miss Kate Fraser and Miss C. Watt, Inverness. Miss Cosey Fraser presided at the piano.

A Strathspey and reel party, led by Mr A. Watt, Inverness, introduced the pleasing variety of stringed instrumentation, and their two performances were very highly appreciated. Mr Watt's fellow-instrumentalists were:—Messrs Geo. Fraser, J. Alcorn, D. Watt, and A. Maclennan, violinists; H. J. Boyne, 'cello; and D. Maclennan, contra-bass. The dancing was in the capable hands of Pipe-Major Sutherland, Pipe-Major Ferguson, Duncan Macdonald, and Angus Mackay. Pipe-Major Sutherland also gave a finely executed exhibition of the sword dance.

The Gaelic oration was to have been delivered by Rev. Chas. Robertson, but he was unavoidably absent, and his place was kindly taken by Rev. Mr Sinton, Dores, who delivered a spirited extempore address.

On the motion of Dr F. M. Mackenzie, a very hearty vote of thanks was awarded to the performers, and a like compliment being passed to the Chairman, on the motion of Brigade-Surgeon Alex. Grant, the singing of "Auld Lang Syne" brought a very successful assembly to a close.

THE PRIZE ESSAY

ON

"THE PECULIARITIES OF GAELIC AS SPOKEN IN THE WRITER'S DISTRICT,"

BEING THE FIRST IN MERIT OF THOSE SENT IN UNDER THE SOCIETY'S SPECIAL PRIZE TO THE MÒD OF THE HIGHLAND ASSOCIATION HELD IN INVERNESS, IN SEPTEMBER, 1897.

PERTHSHIRE GAELIC.

BY THE REV. CHARLES M. ROBERTSON.

The characteristics of a dialect may be of two kinds. Some of them may consist in the presence or the absence of features that are or are not to be found in other dialects. Others, and perhaps these are the more numerous, consist in the application or non-application to individual words, and to particular classes of words, of modes of treatment that are both ancient and widespread. The sound *chc* for post-vocalic *c*, for example, is universal in some dialects, while in others it simply does not exist. On the other hand, the most general characteristic of Perthshire Gaelic, which is the loss or removal of the vowel of a final syllable, associates itself for the most part either with the vowel infection and retraction which have transformed the Gadelic sūlī and atri into the modern sùil and athair, or with the disappearance of the vowels of the stem suffixes. The stem suffixes which have resisted the tendency to vowel absorption are those of the forms jo, jâ, io, iâ, represented now by a terminal *e*, sometimes by a terminal *a*. The tendency to get rid of that stem suffix vowel has made some progress in Scottish Gaelic, or at least in some dialects thereof; but in Perthshire, and especially in the eastern district, it has carried everything before it. Thus it comes about that the usual remark made by strangers regarding Perthshire Gaelic is that the words are cut short in it; but the Glenlyon man's èowarna, for eòrna, and coireathaichc, for corc, would suffice to refute such a sweeping statement.

Like other dialects, this is not homogeneous. In the following pages the district of Strathardle, in the north-east, and all west and south of Loch Tay, are not touched upon. In the intervening area appear two well defined sub-dialects—an Eastern, represented here by Strathtay and Blair-Atholl, and a Western, to

which Loch Tay, Glenlyon, and Rannoch belong. The Western Gaelic is distinguished by diphthongisation of *a* and *o* before long *l*, *n*, and *r*, by the pronunciation *chc* for post-vocalic *c*, and by that of *bh* after *l*, *n*, *r*, dealbh, etc., viz., *au* at Loch Tay, and *a* (*aa*) in Rannoch. In the Eastern dialect there is no diphthongising of *a*, *o* (though there is of *io*), no *chc* for *c*, and *bh* in those positions is *u* or *wa*. Another difference recognised is the change of terminal *ng* and *nd* into *nn* in the West, and into *g* and *d* respectively in the East, but that distinction is not so well marked, and is necessarily shown chiefly in borrowed words. Other differences might be brought to light by a fuller comparison than is indicated by the scantiness of the notes labelled "Loch Tay," "Rannoch," or "Glenlyon." The dividing line between the two dialects practically coincides with the western boundary of the region of Pictish place-names, *i.e.*, with a line drawn from the head of Glen Quaich by the east end of Loch Tay and between lochs Rannoch and Tummel to the head of Glen Errochdie, about ten miles north-west of Blair-Atholl. Where there is no qualification, the statements made describe the Eastern dialect as spoken at Blair-Atholl and in Strathtay. 'Strathtay,' in local usage, means the strath between Ballinluig and Aberfeldy, and is even limited to the north side of the river, the south side being usually called Grandtully. Any remark applying to Blair-Atholl Gaelic but not to that of Strathtay, or to that of the latter but not to that of the former, is accompanied by the name of the place to which it applies. The main points in which Blair differs from Strathtay are greater frequency of *e* for *ai*, the sound of *i* for *eamh*, and of *ya* for *ea* before *rb*, *rc*, and *rg*, and the regularity with which the mediæ are eclipsed.

Change of pronunciation constitutes the phonetic history of language; differences are observed even between the passing and the rising generations, and tradition testifies to such mutation. The old Strathtay Gaelic for "Yoke the horse to the cart" is recorded to have been "Cuir an cuibhlidh anns an fheun." Cuibhlidh, also written cuillidh (MacAlpine) (from cuibh, muzzle-bar, etc.?), may have meant 'a team' at first Another of those remembered sayings is somewhat curious. One farmer addressed another, "Ma bheir thusa dhombsa la de d' mhaodalach a' phluchd fraoich, bheir mise dhuitse dàir de mo steòc a stiùcaireachd," the meaning being, "If you will give me a day of your servant maid to pull heather, I will give you a day (?) of my ploughman to cut turf." The curious thing is that a similar saying has appeared in the Transactions, in a paper on Arran Gaelic,

by the Rev. John Kennedy, Arran; and another version is current in Ardgour as a specimen of the old local Gaelic, "Ma bheir thusa dhomhsa an steòcaire air son steòcaireachd, bheir mise dhuitse a mhiodalach mhòr a'r son bara-puil." The difficulty is that in such sayings the most interesting words are apt to be the worst preserved. Bara-puil means a wheelbarrow, and probably it is the wheeling of peats that is meant. Dàir recalls, but cannot be referred to, the Scots darg, a day's work.

In the phonetic re-spellings, the letters represent their Gaelic sounds, except *û*, which means the French *û*, and *h*, *w*, which have their English sounds as in 'house,' 'will,' 'now,' and *y*, which non-initial sounds as in 'lawyer,' and initially like slender *dh*, *gh*, *i.e.*, like the Scottish pronunciation of *y* in 'you,' 'yet.' The mark ~ means that the vowel is nasalised; an apostrophe between vowels separates syllables, and between vowel and consonant means that the latter sounds as beside a vowel of the opposite quality, broad or slender. In the re-spelling of words or of the syllables under discussion, when two vowels stand together each is intended to have its own proper sound, as treu, falaah, for treabh, falbh.

Vowels.

What may be called a diphthongisation of the vowels *a* and *o* in certain positions, as also of *eu*, is a feature of spoken Gaelic from the middle of Argyllshire to the north of Sutherlandshire. In the case of *a* (*ea*) and *o* (*eo*) when followed by a long liquid, *i.e.*, a liquid upon which the voice rests or dwells in pronouncing it, a *u* or *w* sound is developed in passing to the liquid. Instances are—am (time), cam, com, crom, call, toll, geall, ann, bonn, etc., pronounced aum, coum, caull, etc., where *u* is like *u* in English 'hour,' or *w* in English 'town.' The vowels which are thus diphthongised are often marked long in the lexicons; but that is owing to the liquid being long. They ought not to be long, and were not so marked in the old language, except through a confusion apparently due to the same cause as that in modern Gaelic. At least that seems to be the true bearing of the statement in Windisch's Grammar:—"In Old Irish a long accent often appears over short vowels before a double consonant, specially before grouped or doubled *r*, *l*, *n*: *márbh*, dead; *lóndas*, indignatio; *ánd*, here, etc."—(Moore's translation, p. 126). The one exception is that before long *r ea*, from Old *e* (not *é*) is now long in some instances, both in Irish and in Gaelic, *e.g.*, ceàrd, ceàrr (but not cearn); so eòrna also, and compare meirle.

Similar diphthongisation in Manx, where it is carried somewhat further, is discussed by Professor Rhys (Manx Prayer Book, II.., 142-144). "Thus," he says, "'tromm,' now written 'trome,' heavy, is pronounced in a way which sometimes strikes one as being 'troum,' and sometimes 'trobm' or 'trubm,' with a sort of precarious *b*; and similarly with other words, such as 'kione,' head, which becomes 'kioun' or 'kiodn,' and 'lhong,' a ship, which becomes 'logng,' or 'lugng.'" Further on he says—"In all the cases mentioned the vowel was short, and the nasal consonant" (the effect seems not to accompany *l* in Manx), "as in 'tromm,' was long, so to say, so that metrically *um* or *bm* is an equivalent for *mm*." But in Manx the change has been extended, "probably later" to words in which the nasal consonant was short, but preceded by a long vowel, and here the reinforcement of the consonantal element took place, metrically speaking, at the expense of the vowel. The pronunciation represented by 'troum' prevails in the South of Ireland, and apparently in the Breton dialect also, and that represented by 'trobm' is paralleled in Old Cornish, in which 'camm,' crooked, and 'gwyn,' white, for example, became respectively 'cabm' and 'gwydn.'

This diphthongisation, which is unknown in Strathtay or at Blair, is found before *ll* and *nn* in the Dean of Lismore's Book, *e.g.*, Cown, Gowle, dawle, &c., for Conn, Gall, dall, and is the rule, except before *m* and double *r*, in West Perthshire. Both at Loch Tay and in Rannoch, call, moll, toll, bann, clann, ceann, leann, bonn, and at least in the latter place meall, geall, seall, steall, show it caull, moull, ceunn, meull, but gyoull syoull. In Rannoch and Glenlyon it appears with *rn*, *rd*, and *rt*, *e.g.*, carn, dorn, ard, bard, ceard, mart, tart, ort, port, &c. Words like bearn, cearn, fearna, stearn, eorna, show a slightly different form, ceowrn, eowrna, &c. (*e* open, not cyowrn, yowrna). In Rannoch, and in Glenlyon, it appears with *rd* and *rt* even when a slender vowel (*i*) intervenes as an aird, feaird, cairdean, feairt, Peairt, goirt, au'rd, cau'rdean, gou'rt, &c. Compare also the Rannoch mëog for meàg.

In the case of *eu* the tendency in Rannoch is to dipthongise, *e.g.*, in beulaobh freumh. Cf. also dianamh for dèanamh.

The length of the vowel sounds is a matter that requires attention. In writing the language they are summarily divided into long and short. That is apt to give an impression as misleading as it is erroneous, that the vowels marked long are all equally long, and that those not so marked are all equally short. Apart from that confusion caused by marking a short vowel long,

where it is the following liquid that is long, *e.g.*, àm, càm, còm, cròm, càrn, dòrn, stàirn, tàirneanach, &c., in none of which, except the last, is the vowel marked long in Irish, Old or Modern, there are distinctions which it is well to keep in mind. For example, before *mh a* is not equally long in all the words in which it is marked long, both in the Modern and in the Old language; the *a* of cnàmh, cnàimh, pràmh, làmh, tàmh is in Perthshire, at all events, distinctly shorter than that of ràmh, snàmh, but it is as distinctly longer than that of amh, damh, samh (smell). Compare also samhradh and geamhradh with samhuinn, and gamhuinn where, though the respective roots are the same, there is a distinct difference, the vowel of the latter words being shorter than that of the former. So also the vowel is shorter in bàidh, gràidh, dòigh, than in fàidh, ràidh, bòidheach. Such distinctions of vowel quantities exist in other dialects and without a comparison with them little can be said on the question.

A slight shortening of a stem when a suffix of inflection or derivation is added is not uncommon in language; sometimes it may even amount to the loss of a syllable, as in eachdraidh from echtar. That, with what has been said above, fully explains the apparently shortened plurals lamhan and cnaimhean (found also in Perthshire), which have been remarked in the Badenoch dialect.

a.

The vowel *a*, like *e* and *o*, though the two sounds are more widely separated in their case, has both an open and a close sound, each of which again is found both short and long. The open sound may be observed short in *bad, cas, dath, fagus*, etc.; long in *bàta, càs, dàcha, fàg, gàg*, etc. The close sound is found short in *ball, calman, dalma, blas, glas, tarruinn, tart, rath*, unaccented in *inneal, ùrlar, calman, innean*, etc.; and long in *àl, càl, làgan, càrd, ràith*, etc. The close sound is found in contact with the liquids *l* and *r*, and also in contact with *n* and *m* when, however, nasalization comes in in addition. The liquids generally, though this is true in a less degree of *r*, seem to have a tendency to give a close sound to the vowels in contact with them. Compare English basket, ball, band, barter.

The *a* in the diphthongs *ia, ua*, is close when in contact with the liquids ial, fiar, bualadh, dual, fuar. It is close in some instances, also in which there is not immediate contact with the liquid, *e.g., gabhunn, tabhunn.* The close *a* sometimes becomes open when the liquids are aspirated, as in *mo lasair, mo rathad*, and when an *i* intervenes as in *cáil, buail.* In *iall, ciall, a* has the sound of *ao* short, q.v.

In a or as, out of, and usually in rach, rachadh, etc., *a* is sounded open *e*, while in thar (influenced by thairis perhaps) it is close *e*.

The digraph *ai* produced by the retraction or by the infection of an *e* or *i* in the following syllable, *e.g.*, àin, heat, O. Ir. àne, is generally pronounced *e* or *ei* when in contact with nasals in Perthshire. It is *e* in aimsir, ainmig, bainis, baintighearna, maide, and also naidheachd. Aingidh, aingeal, daingean, cainnt, have *e* at Blair, but in Strathtay *ei*, which is the sound in both places, in aimhrea, maighstir, daimh, cnàimh. Màthair, thàinig, àin, gràin, sgàin, spàin, ainm, ainneamh, aineolach, gainnmheach, raineach, which have *e* at Blair retain *a* in Strathtay, and aithne, which has *e* in the west of Perthshire, has *a* in the east. In all those instances the vowel is nasalised. In mairg, aig, air, thairis, *ai* is pronounced close *e* throughout Perthshire, excepting that in Rannoch it is *a* in thairis. Many of the other words take *e* or *ei* in West Perthshire also, *e.g.*, gainnmheach, raineach, bainis, ainmig, &c. The district in which that change of *ai* is least prevalent is Strathtay, which is divided only by the river from the district in which the change is carried furthest. In Grandtully there is a farm called Dun 'n Tàilleir, the local pronunciation of which is quoted as typical in the neighbourhood. The name of another farm distant less than a quarter of a mile from Grandtully Castle finds a place in the saying which, if not well found, has been well invented to illustrate the same characteristic :—"Dh'ith na tàillearan an càise eadar Baile na Pàirce is an Caisteal."

Of words in which there is an interchange of *a* and *o*, pònair, dòcha, famhair (so Rannoch), folaich have *a*, and falbh, gabh, dàth, mallachd, graing, and at Blair amhaich, take *o*, as does also sgrath in sgroth-glanaidh and sgroth-nighidh, superficial cleansing, slight wash (Loch Tay for all those). Usa is as', so Loch Tay, and in Strathtay os' also. Callainn is Caolainn (*ac* short). Sàmhach is sõch, as in Badenoch, and in Strathtay sometimes sã'uch, in Rannoch sã'ach. at Loch Tay s'è'uch (nasal *e*). Maille (hindrance) is moille in Strathtay, muille (*l* long) at Blair, and maoille at Loch Tay. Furasda, the word used in Strathtay, and farasda at Blair, though similar in signification, are different words. C'arson (why) has close *o* for *a*, c'orson.

o.

The open sound of *o* is frequently found in some dialects in words which have the close sound in others ; for instance, oghd has close *o* in Strathtay, and open *o* at Blair and at Rannoch, and

bó, có, cóta as they are in Perthshire, are in Macleod and Dewar's Dictionary bò, cò, còta. The word mór has the peculiarity of receiving very generally two pronunciations unless it would be more correct to say that there are two words mór and mòr, with derivatives móran and mòran, for there were in the old language two forms, mór and már, meaning 'great.' The distinction made in Perthshire between the two is that mór is the word for ordinary use, but where emphasis is to be laid upon the adjective mòr is used; and so with móran and mòran. Other derivatives, except moirear, have close *o*. In olann *o* is open, but is close in olla, whose connection with the former word is not, however, quite clear. Macleod and Dewar call the latter an adjective, which it might be in the phrase aodach olla (woollen cloth), but what is to be made in that case of ùilleadh na h-olla?

In a few instances *oi* like *ai* is pronounced *ei* (*e* close), as soimeach, oibrich, oighre, and with nasalisation roimh, troimh, coimhead. At Loch Tay coimhead takes ei, but roimh troimh have oi. In coille, oillt, doill, coilionn (candle), coinnlear, the sound is *ao* short, as is the case at Blair in toill also which keeps *o* in Strathtay.

Instances of *u* for *o* are bulg (to bulge), bulgan (belly), tulg (to dint), mull (chaff), mu (greater), muchthrath (morning), musach (nasty), durc (a piece), murt (for mort); bodhaig (so Rannoch) is budhaig in Foss; robaig (to rob), robaig (to roup), and robainn (a roup) have all *u* in Rannoch; cruit means a hump, and croit the back (slightingly). It is *o*, on the other hand, in congaidh (harness), ollai' (ullamh), coir put (to sow seed is always cuir), croineachd (wheat), omhail (attention, &c.), gnòig (grùig), and in Strathtay sometimes gos (gus). Some of those are at Loch Tay, cruineachd and gnùig, and in Rannoch ullai'. Spuing (Manx spuing), a sponge, seems to be an oblique case raised to the nominative. In bonn-t-sè (halfpenny), bonn here unaccented is sounded with *u*.

u.

The usual sound of this vowel in Gaelic is that of *oo*, in 'good,' 'root.' With us it has the sound of French û shortened, in a few borrowed words in place of original *u* and *i*, as lurc, cuf (a cuff), stuf (stiff), stufainn (n.) and stufaig (v.), starch from stiffen, and the surname Duf (Duff and Macduff). Armstrong has staofainn, for which orthography it may be said that *ao* is pronounced û in several dialects, including that of Perthshire. The same sound is found also in lurgann, rud, rudach, fiodh, fliodh, &c.

e.

In teth, leth, sgeith, feitheamh, eas, seas, féith, réidh, réit, the vowel is open *e*. Béist has close *e*, except when used opprobriously with emphasis, when it is bèist, bèistean. The vowel of glé is pronounced at Blair, and when emphasised, in Strathtay also, as *ei*, or sometimes as a diphthong composed of *ao* short and *i*, *l* having its broad aspirated sound to correspond with the broad vowel sound adjoining it. In the latter case, glé is exactly like the local pronunciation of gloi—in gloichd. It may mean much or nothing that the Welsh form of the word is gloew, Old Welsh gloiu. Gréidh-nighidh, a beetle, is pronounced grainn-nigh, while the vowel of creid and creideamh is broadened into *ao* short without changing the sound of *d*.

In words written with *ea*, *a*, not *e*, is sounded when followed by *l*, by two liquids, or liquid plus dental, *e.g.* geal, seal, bealach, eallach, teallach, feali, meall, sgealb, dealbh, dealg, dealt, geamhradh, geamhta, ceann, reannag, cearr, fearr, cearn, fearn, ceard, ceart; so also ceangail, earar, ceathrar, and seachd. At Blair that pronunciation is extended to *ea* before rb, rbh, rc, and rg, *e.g.* earb, cearb, dearbh, searbh, cearc, dearcag, dearg, fearg, etc.; and also Abaireadhain, which are pronounced with *e* in Strathtay, as e'rb, de'rg, etc. In teampull, dean, meanbh, teangaidh, and sneaghan (for seangan) it is *e* that is sounded. Meirle and meirleach have *a* with us mearle (myairle).

In Rannoch, earb, cearb, tearb, cearc, dearc, tearc; and at Loch Tay, earb, cearb, are yarb, c'arb, t'arb, etc., as at Blair. In other instances Rannoch goes against Perthshire and sides with Lochaber, where the tendency is to pronounce *ea* invariably as *e*, as eallach, bearr, cearr, fearr, gearr, seachd, e'llach, be'rr, se'chd, etc. That is even found accompanied by the developed *u*, as meall, teanndadh, etc., meull, teunndadh. Feabhas, seabhag, and greallag are fe'us, se'ug (Gaelic *u*), and gre'llag in Rannoch and also in Glenlyon.

In Strathtay and at Blair, feabhas, seabhag, deamhan, air-deadh have open *o* in lieu of *ea*, and seagal, steall, geall, seall, and in Strathtay eallach, greallag have close *o*.

"Chi mi talla Righ nam Bard
'M Bàideanach ann 'n seolladh Spè,"

sings John Macgregor (p. 205). Duncan Ban has a similar pronunciation of leabhar--

"Le'r casagan leobhar liath-ghlas"

which, with the identical form leabhar (book) is pronounced lyowar.

There are other modifications of *ea*. Beathach is pronounced bi'aoch (*ao* short), and feadhainn sometimes fyao'inn (*ao* short), sometimes fye'inn (close *e*). In deagh, meag, meadh (-bhlath), the vowel is *ao*, myaog, etc. Meanglan is myaolan in Strathtay, at Blair myulan (nasal *u*), and at Loch Tay myowlan.

In seòmar *eo* is sounded nasal *e*, and *o* of *eo* has also disappeared with a different result in leo, treobh, reodh, sreothartaich, pronounced with open *e* and Gaelic *u*, leü, treü, reü, sreürtaich. The same sounds are heard also in feith, and feitheamh pronounced alike feü.

Eu, where it becomes *ia* in northern Gaelic, is almost invariably pronounced *è* or *e* nasal, with us reub, beuc, speuc, feuch, deuchainn, dreuchd, sleuchd, breug, geug, leugh, leud, beul, sgeul, beurla, feur, geur, feusag, greusaich, leus, eun, sgeun, neul, smeur, meud, freumh. In the following it is *é*, geuban, beud, deud, eud, treud, creutair, reul, speur, beus, gleus, ceus, breun, feun, treun, beum, ceum, feum, geum, leum, teum.

i.

The vowel *i* in certain words is represented in some dialects by *e*. Sin for example is pronounced sen in East Perthshire and in some other dialects, *e.g*, Islay, and is so written in the Books of Deer and of the Dean of Lismore. Mil and milis are mel and melis throughout Perthshire, and in East Perthshire and Rannoch *e* (*ea*) is heard in lieu of *i* (*io*) in mios, miosg, miotag, nios, smior gionach, tionail, ionann, to which must be added for East Perthshire eanchainn, miosa, mionach, and for Strathtay Inbhir and lios, which appears in E. Ir. both as liss and as less. Féin and nis, which take *i* and *e* respectively in some dialects retain their more usual vowel in Perthshire. Seinn on the other hand is sinn. In trinnsear *i* is sounded *ei* (*e* nasal), which is also the sound of *ui* in luingeas.

In lionn, rionnag, fionnar, iongar, ionnsaich, ionnsaidh, tionndadh, cionta, and in Strathtay gliong, which is gle'ng at Blair, the sound is neither *e* nor *i*, but *ya*, as lyann, yannsaich, etc. Gean, which usually has *e* has *i* in the phrase gion-math, where gion is unaccented.

In Rannoch some of these are leunn, teunndadh (open *e-u* diphthong), gle'ng, e'ngar, r'annag and ûnachainn (brain).

It is a feature of the dialect that *io* is made a diphthong of variable composition. It is *i* and short *ao* in cioch, crioch, diol, diosg, fior, giosgan, griosach, iosal, sios, cliobach, rioghachd, diochain, siochadh (peace), diot, priosan; and *i* and close *a* in

sioman, gniomh, sniomh, diomhain, iomhaigh, dion, lion, sion, mios, nios (up), crion, lion, spion, iongantas. In fiodh, fliodh, diog, giolc, gliog, spiol, the sound is yû, fyûh, flyûh, (flyuh at Blair), etc., and in ciod, spiorad, it is û. A few of those words are in Rannoch i'mha (so at Loch Tay), gniamh, sniamh, i'untas, cleóbach.

In a small remnant the vowel is *i* pure and simple, as fios, crios, ciotag, gioball, sgìos, cìob, siosar, siobhailt, sìoda (pronounced sìde, so Rannoch). Iolair is yolair (close *o*) and yûlair in Strathtay, and yulair at Blair.

The broadening of *i* after *r*, which has taken place in ruig, ruith, etc., is extended somewhat. In those instances, and in ruighin (tough) the diphthong is *ûi*, so druilig, to drive about, from drill; in ribh (to you), it is *ui* while rinn (to us) and grìs are riu'nn and grù's. Compare also liuinn, liuibh, Old linn, libh (with us, with you). Rinn, did, and rinn, a point, again are both rao'nn (*ao* short). The last named and ruighinn are also found in Rannoch. John Macgregor has—

> "Tog ort, Iain, 's gabh an t-slighe
> 'S ruighinn leam do sheòlsa,
> Cha leig mi deur tuille a' l' mhinid
> 'S co ionnan leam's a dhòrte"—p. 153.

Instances of a broadening of *e* after *r* have been mentioned under that vowel.

The reverse may be heard in Strathtay in druim, whose original vowel was broad. The word is pronounced dr'im, though druim is retained in more formal speech. It is the same with the loan word suipeir, while bisidh, from busy, has only *i* both in Strathtay and at Blair.

In words beginning with ion-, it is sometimes the English sound of *i*, as in 'pit,' 'in,' that is heard, *e.g.*, ionad, ionnas, ionmhas, c'ionadh, etc. In unaccented syllable *i* often has this sound, *e.g.*, cadail, milis, oidhirp, thairis, etc.

In tigh the vowel is short *aoi*; in the genitive and plural it is *ai*. In innleachd, perhaps owing to the assimilation of *nn* to *l*, the vowel is long ìnnleachd though not marked so in the dictionaries.

ao.

Where *ao* represents old *ae*, *oe*, *ai*, or *oi*, it has the sound of û, *e.g.*, in daor, faobhar, etc. So also aodach, aodann, aotrom, where *ao* represents an old *é* and is sometimes written *eu*, as eudach, etc. The true *ao* sound to which the nearest approach in English is that

of *u* in 'hull,' 'skull,' is heard in aobhar, aoradh, for adhbhar, adhradh, and other words with *a* or *o* followed by *dh* or *gh*, *e.g*, adharc, adhart, adhastar, fadharsach, tadhail, cladh, seadh, 's eadh, chan eadh, agus, aghaidh, lagh, laghach, dragh, tagh, leagh, fòghlum, foghar, roghainn; with intervening *i* in oidhirp, foidhidinn, toigh, and also soitheach, and forming a diphthong with *i* in saighdear, oidhche, oighre, and obliques of faidhir, paidhir, staidhir. *Ao* has taken the place of *ù* in ùbraid at Blair, and is sometimes found before liquids in lieu of *ai* and *oi*, *e.g.*, coinneal, àirde, so also faide; and in -arbh (not earbh), words such as tarbh, garbh, when by inflection or comparison *i* is introduced, the resultant sound is *ao*. It is the sound given to *a* in the diphthongs *ia* and *ua* before *dh* and *gh*, as fiadh, riadh, liagh, riaghail, buadh, ruadh, tuagh, sluagh, truagh; before *ll*, as iall, ciall, stiall, uallach, and also in sguab, stuam, uam. The noun biadh is biao, but the verb is bia, so Loch Tayside. The same sound is retained when *i* comes between it and the consonant, as luaidh, cruaidh, gruaidh, buaidh, sluaigh, etc.; so uainn, uaibh. It is the sound given to *o* in diol, fior, sios, etc., as already mentioned.

In saoibhir, aoibhneas, coibhneas, féidh, geòidh, *ao* short forms with *i* a diphthong in room of those various digraphs. The *ù* sound is sometimes heard from analogy no doubt in the two words *aobhar* and *aoradh*, and takes the place of *a* in *fàilte*, *gàirdean*, *ceàird*.

ua.

Some pronunciations of this diphthong have been noted under *a* and *ao*. There remains but to mention that *buaidheach*, *nodh'*, *snodh*, are the forms in use for *bòidheach*, *nuadha*, *snuadha*, and that *uat*, *uaipe*, *uaith*, *uapa*, are pronounced *bhot*, *bhoipe*, *bhoith*, *bhopa*, *o* being short, and except in *bhoith* open.

ia and *eu.*

Eu is retained, but with the open *e* sound in many instances in room of the close sound so prevalent in Argyllshire. Even *ia* of *iad* is *e* in 's iad, co iad, an iad, and chan iad. In a few instances there is the change to *ia*, sounded *iao* before *d*, *g*, as *briagh* fine, *riadan* a timber moth, *ciatach*, and of course, *ceud* and *deug*. The three last have *ia* almost throughout the Southern dialect. *Deug*, however, may sometimes be heard with the sound of close *e* in Perthshire in the phrase, *an da'reug* or *an dawaireug* (with last syllable accented), "twelve o'clock," but even there the *iaog* intrudes. Cf. Irish dareug, twelve (persons). *Fiamh-ghàire* is *fèath-ghàire*. E. Ir. féth.

Nasal Vowels.

The accented vowels of the following words have the nasal sound without the presence of *n* or *m* to account for it, viz., *adhlac, òran, ultach, tuaicheal, tualaig, fuasgail*, and in Strathtay *dithis*. The first *a* of *agam, againn*, is nasalized when *g* is elided in pronunciation, as is also *e* in the third personal pronouns *e*, and *eud* for *iad* in the phrases *an e, cha'n e, an eud, cha'n eud*. So also *a* of *àird* in *an àird* upward. Grathuinn, a while, is pronounced by us grãwinn, as if the word were gnathuinn or rather gnamhuinn. So rabhan (rigmarole) is rãvan, as if the word were ramhan ; cf. W. rhamant romance, which is simply a form of the O. French romanz, according to Rhys.

Semi-Vowels *w* and *y*.

The sound *w* for *bh, mh*, etc., is noted elsewhere. Other instances are dawairiag, seanwair, and cwui, for da uair dheug, seanmhathair, and cuith (snow wreath).

As a rule *y* is found where initial *e* or *i* with a broad vowel is followed by a liquid, *e.g.*, eala, eallach, eanntag, earrach, eolas, eorna, iolair, iongar, iubhar, iuchair, etc., are pronounced yala, yuchair, etc. So also eadhon, iodhal, iochd, and even eigh and ùine, are pronounced yiochd, yeigh, yùine, etc. Initial *dh* and *gh* with slender vowels are also of course sounded like *y*.

Consonants.

At the end of accented syllables the tenues *p, t, c* are not always clearly distinguished from the mediae *b, d, g* in Strathtay. The adjective tapaidh, for instance, may often be heard as tabaidh, though the noun tapadh, except in the phrase 'tapaidh leat,' always keeps the *p* sound. Leabaidh, which is sometimes used as genitive also, has *b*, but the genitives leapa and leapach always have *p*. In ceapag and ceapaire *p* is often sounded *b*. In general *p*, though distinguished from *b*, is somewhat softer than at Blair and elsewhere. As regards the others in the same position, *t* and *c* cannot always be distinguished from *d* and *g* respectively, *e.g.*, in cat, fad, cadal, crotal, etc., glac, glag, leig, reic. In the history of the language, however, they have not been kept distinct, *e.g.*, fad, cadal, leig, were in the old language fota, cotlud, léiccim. At Blair the distinction is that in such positions the preceding vowels sound as if followed or closed by an *h*, and the tenues are pronounced exactly as they are at the beginning of words, *e.g.*, litir, tapaidh, leiceid, as if lihtir, tahpaidh, leihceid. The same holds at Loch

Tay in regard to *p* and *t*, but further progress has been made in the case of *c*, and in Rannoch in the case of the other two also. At both places *c* is pronounced *chc*, *e.g.*, in mac, breac, glic, mic, leiceid, olc, corc, cearc, tearc, while in East Perthshire even currachd is pronounced currac. That hyper-guttural *c* has been observed in the East, and ridiculed in the phrase "Muchd an Diùchd," while in illustration of the other abrupt and bare pronunciation it is related that when checked by one of the Duke's officials for allowing an unclean beast to wander out of bounds, an Atholl man replied sententiously, "Far an cuir a' mhuc soc, cha chuir an Diùc bac."

The peculiarity of *p* and *t* in Rannoch in the position under discussion, *e.g.*, cat, tapaidh, is that the breathing is so strong as to make them sound almost as if they also had a *ch* before them.

b, bh.

Initial *b*, when preceded by *m* of the article, relative, interrogative, or preposition, is pronounced like English *b*, as in am bàta, air am bual..dh, but not when, as sometimes happens, the *m* is elided. In loans like Bioball, butan, buinnse (bunch), it is sounded initially as *p*. More variable is the pronunciation of *bh*, the standard sound of which is that of *v* in English 'view,' 'vote.' That sound, which is always heard in initial position, occurs medially in a very few instances, and finally in no case. The instances in which it sounds *v* medially are gàbhaidh, clàbhuinn (sleet), aoibhneas, aobhar, cabhag, sealbhag, bulbhag, drabhas, siobhalt, fàbhar, sàbhailt, and one or two other loans. In Rannoch asbhuain is asvin (Gaelic).

It sounds like *w* in English 'now,' in dobhran, cobhar, cobhair, gobhar, gobhainn, leabhar, abhag, sabhal, brabhd, asbhuain (aswa'n), tobha, cabhsair, etc.

After *l*, *r*, and *n*, *bh* sounds with us as Gaelic *u*, English *o* in 'food,' 'root,' at Loch Tay as *au*, and in Rannoch as *ah* or *aah*, *e.g.*, balbh, dealbh, sealbh, garbh, marbh, tarbh, sgarbh, dearbh, searbh, meanbh, etc. Inbhe is inwe, in Rannoch inaï. A fuller enunciation occasionally heard in Strathtay makes *bh wa* (*w* and the indistinct vowel sound), as balwa, dearwa, etc. In all cases the liquid retains its long sound. The Dean of Lismore writes garo, gerve, and garrowe (garbh), dalwyth (dealbh), Bano (Banbh), etc. Manx forms are marroo, tarroo, etc. In most of those examples *bh* stands for an Indo-European *v*; it was written *b* in Old Irish, and is represented by *w* in Welsh, by *ow* in Cornish, and by *ou* or older *v* in Breton, *e.g.*, marbh, marvo-s, O. Ir. marbh, W. marw, Cor. marow, Br. maro, Middle Br. marv.

Bh is sounded *u* in some other instances also, *e.g.*, treabh, sgriobh, Fiobh (Fife), craobh, taobh, lethtaobh, are treü, sgrïü, Fïü, crûü, tûü, leatu. In several instances *bh* and a preceding vowel are sounded as *u*, *e.g.*, leanabh, culaobh, beulaobh (and chianaibh, usually written chianamh), are leanu, culu, etc. In tarbhach (profitable), gailbheach, *bh* is vocalised somewhat differently, taraach, gaileäch. So dealbhach is dealaach, and in Strathtay dealwach.

It is altogether silent in àbhaist, faobhar, ubhal, siubhal, dubhan, and also when, through inflection or comparison or otherwise, *i* stands before it, *e.g.*, craoibh, taoibh, lethtaoibh, sibh, leibh, uaibh, etc. When *i* is introduced before a preceding liquid, an *i* sound is heard in lieu of *bh*, *e.g.*, bailbh, deilbh, mairbh, etc., are baili, deili, mairi, etc. The verb falbh varies greatly. Usually *bh* is *u*, sometimes *w* when followed by a suffix, as folu, Future folwi, Subjunctive folug or folwag; sometimes it is *a*, as fola, folaï, folaag. In Strathtay *a* of the stem is sometimes heard, as in Rannoch, where the forms are falaah, falalïi.

In the borrowed words seirbhis pronounced seirbhais with its derivative seirbhiseach, and sàbhaidh, *bh* is *v*, while in searbhant it is silent, and in sàbh it sounds *u*. Those are the same in Rannoch, but there the pronunciations sàv and sà'idh are also heard. Some other Rannoch pronunciations are treü, Fïv, craoh, taoh, culu, bialu. There is a marked tendency there to terminate the vowel sound with *h* where *bh* has been vocalised.

p.

A curious instance of *p* occurs in the place name Balquhidder, the Gaelic of which is Bo-phuidir in Rannoch, Strathtay, and at Loch Tay. Nor is that form modern only. The name is written Bofudder in the entry for the year 1526, and Bofudyr in the one for 1574 in the Chronicle of Fortingall; and in the Book of the Dean of Lismore it appears as Bofuddir. The pronunciation got at Blair is Bo-choidir (*oi* as short *ao*).

s.

Initial *s* followed by another consonant and a slender vowel as in sgian, has, of course, its broad sound. When the intervening consonant is *l* or *n*, however, both sounds of *s* are used indiscriminately, *e.g.*, in slinnean, slighe, sneachd, sniomh, etc.

When appended to the second plural pronoun, both personal and prepositional, *s* of the emphatic particle -sa is in Strathtay sometimes sounded broad. Sibhse is both sìs and sìos, sometimes

shúish and shûis. So duibh, uaibh, etc., are duis and dui's, uais and uai's, etc. In Manx, shiuish, as it is written, is pronounced both shuis and shiuish.

Between a slender vowel and final *te* and *gte* also, *s* has its broad sound, as in briste, duisgte, fàisgte, and generally the tendency is to give *s* its broad sound between a slender vowel and a dental, as in béist, maighstir, èisd, leisdear, misd.

In the Relative form, ma bhriseas, ma ghlaiseas, and also in the Future with *s*, briseas, glaiseas, of verbs with final *s* slender, that slender *s* and the broad *s* of the suffix are brought together through the elision of the intervening vowel, bhris-s, bris-s, etc., so closely that they merge together and form a single *s* that begins slender and ends broad. This occurs in Rannoch also. The same result may be obtained in English by pronouncing such a word as wishes as one syllable, wishs.

Insertion of *s* takes place in the combination *rt* in accented syllables, *e.g.*, mart, tart, cuairt, cairt, pronounced marst, cuairst, but not in *rd*, *e.g.*, bord, aird. The infinitive toirt, and with us tort, being for tabhairt is without *s*.

Gutturals.

Elision of *g* occurs in agam, agad, againn, agaibh, and in the combination *sgt*, as in fàisgte, dùisgte, rùisgte, loisgte, pronounced fàs'te, dùs'te, loste (Manx losht).

The *g* is noteworthy in 'Na fir chlisg,' the merry dancers, and the adverb 'a chlisg,' presently. Clis is in Middle Irish cliste.

Aspirated *g* is elided in Gille in proper names of course, but also in the vocative as a common noun.

Non-initial *gh* is sounded in aghaidh, foghar, truaghan, in all which it is retained in Rannoch also. In almost all, if not in all, other instances *gh* non-initial is silent.

C has been dealt with already. *Ch* is pronounced *h* in chugad, chuige, and generally in cha, cha'n, and is altogether silent in chun (thun) for gu'n, all which are common to other dialects.

Slender *ch* is elided in the Future Indicative and in the Subjunctive forms of -ich verbs of two or more syllables, *e.g.*, ceannaichidh, cheannaicheadh, na'n ceannaicheadh, ma cheannaicheas, are ceanna'i, cheanna'adh, etc., ma cheanna'as. So fairich, aithnich, fuirich, and éirich, etc. It is the same in Rannoch.

Dentals.

In some words containing *l* or *n*, *d* and *t*, though in contact with slender vowels, are not spirants. This is common in borrowed

words, *e.g.*, greidil, rideil, sguidilear, buidealair, stior (stir), and the more ancient maidinn (for maduinn) and airgid (genitive); but it is also found in the words sgòideil (from sgòid), caidil, foidhidinu, cuide (ri), inntinn, taitinn, in all which, except airgid and inntinn, Rannoch has the same pronunciation. At Blair coilltean (woods) and in Strathtay aitionn also show that pronunciation. Taitinn, taitneach, and taitneas show the pronunciation in Skye, Eigg, Arran, and the Isle of Man. Professor Rhys says:—"Voiceless mute *t* sounded like English *t* should represent Aryan *t* associated with a narrow vowel *e* or *i*, and we have it occasionally as in tatnys, now written taitnys, joy, delight, pleasure."—Manx Prayer Book II. 103. That sound of the dental approaches the sound of slender *c* in caidil, aitionn, and particularly in taitinn, in which *t* has actually gone over into *c* in Arran, as thaicinn, taicnidh, taicneadh, and taicneach.

In some instances *t* represents an Aryan *sv*. An unusual case of that is our word teillean, a bee, from svel, whence the usual Gaelic seillean, which is the form current even in West Perthshire.[1]

'Smoke' is always deathach, never deatach, and pailteas is pail's. In the combination *sr*, *t* is not inserted srath, sruth, sron, srad, etc., except in strac (tear), stròic, stràic (pride), streap, straighlich, strì, and striall. It is somewhat curious that strac ought to be srac, and appears so in other dialects, and even with us at times in positions of aspiration as 'g a shracadh. Nor are bris and smuainich ever brist or smuaintich.

Ich, bruich, bràch for ith, bruith, bràth, are, of course, common.

The broad sound (*gh*) of *dh* is kept medially in fiodhag, and in Rannoch, and with us in eadhon, iodhal, fiadhain, diadhaidh, and finally in subjunctive forms na'm faodadh e, na'n tigeadh e, except before tu when it is silent, as chithe 'tu (you would see), dh' fhaod 'tu. All that applies to Rannoch also, except that there *dh* is rather *ch* (broad) than *gh*. In Strathtay final *dh* of the Subjunctive, never of the Infinitive, is further de-aspirated into *g*, as dh' fhaodag e, na 'n tigeag na daoine. Créach, in Rannoch créich, clay, may be a derivative of crè as crè-ach.

The only other instance of *dh* being sounded are crodh, modh, modhail, bodhar, odhar, where it is like *w* in English 'now,' or rather the shorter sound of *u* in 'out,' 'shout.'

[1] So in the Island of Tiree, the word for tongue is seanga, which, compared with the ordinary form teanga, shows that a root beginning with *sv* must be looked for, perhaps svengo-s, whence comes seang.

LIQUIDS.

m calls for no remark except what falls under assimilation.

mh resembles *bh* very closely in its various pronunciations. Some words have alternative pronunciations, and are therefore repeated. Medially it is sounded *v* in uamhas, famhair, amhaidh, iomhaigh, and finally in neamh. In Rannoch the *v* sound is heard in those words, and also in nàmhaid, seanmhathair, banamhaighstir, amh and samh.

It is sounded as *w* in East Perthshire and in Rannoch in gamhuinn, samhuinn, amharus, amhuil, geamht, samht; in East Perthshire seanmhathair, amh, samh, gniomh, and in Strathtay and Rannoch in amhaich, and in the former in damh.

It is sometimes *w* and sometimes Gaelic *u* in Rannoch, and in East Perthshire in reamhar (re'ur, or rewar, nasal *e*), damhsa, samhradh, geamhradh, and in the latter place in namhaid. It is Gaelic *u* in Rannoch and East Perthshire in cnàmh (chew), làmh, pràmh, ràmh, tàmh, snàmh, sounded cnàü làü, etc. The unaccented syllables in talamh, teagamh, ealamh, falamh, deanamh, seasamh, caramh, feitheamh, and in the ordinal numbers ceathramh, coigeamh, etc., are sounded *u* talu, coig'u, etc., to which add for Strathtay ainneamh, àireamh, aiteamh, breitheamh, creideamh, toinneamh. Aiteamh has *u* in Rannoch. Compare the Dean of Lismore's tegow, tallow, law, for teagamh, talamh, làmh. It is silent in the prefix comh, as comhairle, comhnard, etc.; in banmhaighstir, caomhain, gainmheach, sgeimhle, sglamhraig, àmghar, and after *i* as in cuàimh, cnaimhean, làimh, daimh (stags), falaimh (one pronunciation), ollaimh (ullamh), soitheamh (sõ'i), and at Blair generally in unaccented syllables, ordinals excepted, when *amh* is preceded by a slender vowel, as ainneamh, aiteamh, breitheamh, creideamh, pronounced ainni, aiti, etc. Possibly also the Strathtay siocha (Blair siochai), is the word sìthshaimh.

At Blair damh, amhaich pràmh, samhach (haft), are dã, õ'ich, preu (nasal *e*), sãwch. The pronunciations of sàmhach have been given under *a*. In Rannoch ràmh, snàmh have two pronunciations, rã, snã, and rãu, snãu; freumh, gniomh, ealamh, deanamh, falamh, are friã, gniã, eala, dianu, falu; and cnàimh, làimh, ullamh, breitheamh, are cnãi, lãi, ullai, bri'i.

The Manx forms of amh, làmh, ràmh, cnàmh, snàmh, talamh, àireamh, deanamh, are aw, laue, raue, cnaue, snaue, thalloo, earoo, jannoo.

n.

Before *c* and *g* an (article, etc.) is sounded ang, as in an cu, an gabh thu e. In the genitive plural initial *n* of the article nan, nam, is sounded as English *n* in not, nun.

Unaspirated slender *n* is aspirated between a slender vowel and *t*, as in cainnt, cluinntinn, inntinn, but not in roinnte, pronounced caint, cluintinn, intinn, and broad *n* is sometimes aspirated in claigionn, craicionn, losgann, uileann, pronounced claigion, etc. On the other hand leathan is leathainn, and sean when standing before a noun is always seann. Ban does not become bann at least in familiar words, *e.g.*, banmhaighstir, banaltradh, bancharaid, baintighearna, in all of which the main accent has been shifted to ban. Where the two words have not been thus welded together, and the accent shifted, the pronunciation varies between ban and bann, as in ban-mhoirear, ban-oighre.

Before slender vowels, and *fh* followed by slender vowels, the broad *n* of cha'n, an (article, relative and interrogative), gu'n, o'n, mu'n, etc., becomes unaspirated slender *n*, as an ionga, an éirich, cha'n iarr, o'n fheòil, pronounced a nnionga, a nnéirich, cha 'nniarr, o' nneòil. So also the phrase gun fhios when used as a conjunction.

After c, g, and t-s *n* is, of course, pronounced *r*. That is the case also in surnames as MacNaughton, MacReachdainn. Grainnnigh for gréidh-nighidh is noted under another heading. An initial *n* has been lost in Ollaig, Christmas, and eanntag, nettle, and a final in féin, sometimes fhéin, but generally fhé.

In nouns with final *-an* forming their plural by suffixing *an*, and this holds true in Rannoch also, the root *n* is elided, and either the two syllables remain or they are run into one, in which case there is a dwelling of the voice upon the remaining *n*, *e.g.*, nighean p. nigheanan, pronounced nighea'an and nigheañ; calman, calma'an and calmañ; so giullan, seachdan (for seachduin). Cha'n ionann is always cha'n ean, in Rannoch cha'n e'an.

Elision of *n* and *nn* before, *l*, *r*, and *s*, with the vowel nasalised, occurs in innleachd, manran, onrachd, comhnard, anart, innis, bainnse, òinnseach, and without nasalisation of the vowel in uilnnean (elbows), coinnle, coinnlean, coinnlear, and also in buinneach.

ng.

In the full pronunciation of this combination *g* not only has its own proper sound, but it also causes the *n* to sound like English *ng*, in 'singing,' 'longing,' so that there is the same duplication of sound

as *ng* has in English 'finger,' 'hunger.' Instances of it are aingidh, Caingis, cungaidh, pungail, sgraing, gliong, fang, rong, etc., pronounced aing-gidh (or conform to Gaelic, ainn-gidh), cung-gaidh, etc. That is the pronunciation, as appears from Munro's Grammar, that prevails in Lochaber, and is also found in the districts to the west thereof. It is the pronunciation in Rannoch of the words langan, teanga, seangan, which are somewhat peculiarly dealt with in East Perthshire. What seems to have taken place is that *n* or *ng* has been elided, and the remaining *g* sound has been aspirated, and the words are now lãghan, teaghaidh, nasal *e*, and with a difference, sneaghan, nasal *e* (Badenoch snioghan, Arran sneagan, Manx sniengan). In Strathtay an alternative pronunciation, teagaidh (nasal *e*) may be heard occasionally, and at Blair it is said that teang-gaidh might be heard, if not now, yet within the last twenty years, from old people.

In a number of cases *ng* is elided with the vowel nasal as luingeas, coingeis, ainglean, aingle (genitive hearth fire), iongantas, iongar, ceangail, muing, in Strathtay daingean, and without nasalisation of vowel, meanglan, pronounced (some of them), l'ei'as (nasal *e*), yã'ar, cyãwil; in Rannoch ãilean, lõins, i'unntas (nasal *i*). In aingeal and in Rannoch in daingean, *ng* is sounded as *nn* slender (English *ng* in 'sing,' 'wing'). The last named is d'ewinn (nasal *e*) at Blair. Ionga, which is ìnn at Blair, is ìn plu. ìntean in Strathtay and Rannoch.

Final *ng* has become *g* in tarrang (a nail), pronounced tarag with verb tairg and in fuilig and fulang. In borrowed words that frequently happens, *e.g.*, bardaig (warning), ludhaig (to allow), lunndraig, cùbhraig (coverlet), inntrig (to enter), robaig (to rob), seinnsig, sglàmhraig. Sometimes when both a verb and a noun have been borrowed, the former takes *g* and the latter *nn*, *e.g.*, robaig, roup, verb, and robainn noun, so Rannoch. Starch is stufainn, to starch is stufaig, and stufainnich, which is the Loch Tay form. In Rannoch there are fuilig but a' fulachdainn, bardaig, cumhann, and bodhaig. Akin to that is the treatment of *nd*. Gràndа, Early Irish gránde, gránna, is grãda. In borrowed words *nt* becomes *d* in teismeid, ionstrumaid, which both along with grãda occur in Rannoch also. Sermon appears with *d* in the phrase 'dol do n t-searmaid,' equivalent to 'going to church,' but otherwise is searmoinn, showing undoubtedly more recent borrowing.

At Loch Tay ùbraid has an alternative pronunciation ùbrainn. One of the features of the Gaelic there is said to be a partiality

for *nn* in lieu of both the *ng* and the *nd* above. As illustrations of that are cited the farm names Bòrlainn at Loch Tay, and Bòrlaig, of which there are two on opposite sides of the Tay, within a mile of Aberfeldy and a third in Strathbraan. Both forms have been referred to the term bordland, but in that case we should expect the second form to be Bòrlaid.

l and *r*.

Fiacaill is fiacal; duilleag, duilleach, coilleag (a smart blow, a cuff), have aspirated *l*, duileag, coileag; òl, to drink, has often slender *l*, except in the Infinitive, òil, dh'òil, òilidh, but ag òl. Compare òlach, pronounced with us, if it is the same word, ailea'ich with *l* long, as if it had been followed by some consonant (bh?) It is used in addressing young men as An e so thu aileich. Thig an so aileich, etc.

It is not always easy to distinguish between the broad sounds of *l* and *ll* after vowels. The aspirated *l* in such positions is often sounded as unaspirated *l*, *i.e.*, as *ll*, *e.g.*, in falamh, galar, ubhal (E. Ir. uball), siubhal. So galad addressed to women in common conversation (v. M'Leod and Dewar).

Oirre, iarr, are pronounced with one *r*, oire, iar, while iarunn is iarrunn. In bodhair, to deafen, *r* is long, as in clr, mìr, bow'r.

Intercalation of Vowels.

Intercalation occurs with us in the case of slender vowels in suairc, pàirc, which are completely changed into suairic, pàiric. Other instances, such as gilb, sgilm (for sgeilm, cf. Scots skellum), etc., and also those with broad vowels confine the intercalated sound to the smallest possible limits.

This is one of the features that differentiate the dialects of East and West Perthshire. It is found in Rannoch with the groups *lb*, *lg*, *rb*, and *rg*, *e.g.*, sgealb, calg, cealg, dearg, are sgealab, calag, etc., and so also dearamad, which is with us dearmad. The pronunciation of *bh* after *l*, *r*, and *n*, both there and at Loch Tay, may be held to show intercalation along with the vocalisation, *e.g.*, dealaah, dearaah in the former, and dealau, dearau in the latter place. It is in Glenlyon that this feature seems to attain its highest development; coirc (oats), *e.g.*, sounds like coireaäichc (long *r*).

Retraction and Loss of Vowels.

It is much more common with us either to drop a vowel altogether or to retract it. The loss of a syllable owing to the drop-

ping of a vowel occurs in numerous cases, *e.g.*, fags for fagus, tha e fags duit (it is near you). Compare pail's (*s* broad) for pailteas. The Future Conditional and the Relative forms of the verb have lost a syllable both with us and in Rannoch. Ma bhàthas tu e, am fear a bhàthas e, are pronounced ma bhàs, am fear a bhàs e; so ma thogs, ma thilgs, ma chluinns, and am fear a thogs, a thilgs, etc., etc. The Future Indicative, where it ends in *s*, is the same.

In some cases a vowel-flanked consonant has been silenced with varying effect. Sometimes two syllables have been compressed into one with a single vowel-sound, *e.g.*, atharrach, faobhar, Domhnall, àbhaist, sàmhach, innis, làthair, Gàidheal, are arrach, faor, Dòll, àst and àist, sòch, is, làir, Gàl or Gàal; cf. na gòrt for na gabh ort, never heed (anything); in other instances there remains but an echo of the second vowel sufficient to separate the following consonant from the first vowel, *e.g.*, agam, agad, etc., feabhas, seabhag, ubhal, siubhal, siubhail, làthaich are a'm, etc.; feo's, seo'g, u'l, siu'l, siuil, làich; and in a few instances the result is a diphthong, *e.g.*, abhag is aug; cf. Daibhidh and Dàidh.

A terminal vowel in words of more than one syllable is often simply dropped. That is the case in furasda, gasda, gràndа, lugha, tugha, cridhe, gaisge, gràinne, lèine, maide; so also infinitives in adh-, as casgadh, fàsgadh, smuaineachadh; and the Future Indicative before mi, sinn, and sibh, as éir mi, bris mi, tog mi (I will rise, break, lift). The latter is the only instance of terminal *i* being so dealt with (all the others being *a* or *e*), and ought perhaps to be treated separately.

In a few instances those terminal vowels are not found in Irish, *e.g.*, àite, Ir. and E. Ir. áit; feàrna, Ir. fearn, E. Ir. fern; linne, Ir. linn, E. Ir. lind; but in far more instances they have been dropped in Scottish Gaelic, *e.g.*, fìrinn, tròcair, snàth, sneachd, tuar (food), tuil, sùith, are in Old Irish fíriunе, trócaire, snáthe, snechta, tuare, tuile, Middle Irish suithe; while occasionally we have alternative forms which probably means that the shorter is the Scottish form and the longer is due to the Irish literary influence, *e.g.*, fad and fada, Ir. fada, O. Ir. fota: faich and faiche, Ir. E. Ir. faithche; tighearn and tighearna, Ir. tighearna, O. Ir. tigerne; so reath and reithe, seich and seiche, etc. So the dropping in words of more than one syllable of a terminal *a* or *e*, representing in most cases a primitive *-io* suffix, is not uncommon in Scottish Gaelic, and is almost universal with us. In the Dean of Lismore's prose, duine is written dwn. It is curious to note that many of the Brittonic cognates have not the terminal vowel, *e.g.*, Welsh craidd (heart), mil (mile, etc.), tan (fire), aill (other), dyn (man), etc.

Where the terminal vowel has been preceded by *l*, *m*, *n*, or *r*, an impression has been left upon the pronunciation of the word in the direction of making the one syllable remaining into two. In such instances as fàinne, bàine, nàire, daoire, aithne, duine, gainne, faire, maille, doille, the slight indistinct sound of the *e* may be said to be simply transferred to the foregoing *i*. So in coma, tana, connadh, Infinitives and 1st sing. and 1st and 2nd plu. of Future Indicatives as glanadh, glanaidh, geallaidh, gearradh, gearraidh, etc., etc., a similar slight indistinct vowel sound in lieu of the dropped terminal vowel sound precedes the liquid. In most of those cases the result may be dis-syllabic, *e.g.*, aithin, ta'an, geatharr, etc.; and so also in many other instances with liquids, *e.g.*, loinid, goirid, caraid, farraid, uiread, are lo'ind, goird, ca'ird, fa'ird, u'ard; sgeimhle, cuisle, mèirle, beurla, còrna, are sgeimhil, cuisil, mèiril, beurrall, eòrrann; compare also geamhar, samhar for geamhradh, samhradh, and ceathar, an eathar, for ceathrar, an earar. The more usual pronunciation, however, must be regarded as monosyllabic, and resembles that of athair, bràthair, piuthar, etc., which are often pronounced practically as monosyllables, and yet with the vowel sounds of both syllables retained.

Akin to those changes are the pronunciations of the emphatic prepositional pronouns. Generally the vowel of sa or se is dropped, but in some instances there is an alternative pronunciation, in which the vowel precedes *s*, as in agamas, asamas, asas, leamas, leiseas, riumas, riseas. This is sometimes more pronounced in Glenlyon, where leamsa, riumsa, sound liumathas, ruimathas (*m*, of course, long). Agmas occurs in Sutherland.

Aspiration.

Unaspirated *d* is found in iomad for iomadh; in thuilleadh in the phrase thuillead air sin, sometimes thuilleid air sin, and in thigeadh when signifying 'ought to,' *e.g.*, "Is e a Ghàidhlig a' chainnt a thigead bhi anns an dùthaich." The form is used by John M'Gregor (p. 190)—

> "Chunnaic mi a bhratach uaine
> Ard shuaicheannas Cloinne Ghrigair
> Le craobh ghiubhais dhosrach bhuadhar
> Aig na h-Uaislean mar a thigead."

The de-aspiration of *dh* into *g* has been described under the dentals. Similarly *g* is unaspirated in aigearr for aithghearr.

After nach and mur initial *f* followed by vowels is aspirated, *e.g.*, nach or mur fhàg thu e, nach or mar fhàgadh tu e. So with faigh, feuch, feith, etc. Nach and mur originally ended with a vowel, but that does not explain the non-aspiration of the other consonants after them. Cf. Chan 'eil fhios agam; de an fhios agad; ma 's fhior (forsooth). Initial *f* in composition with *an* prefix of excess is also aspirated with us anfhann: it is curious that on the West Coast it becomes *bh* as anbhann (Ir. anbhfann, M. Ir. anbfann, anband), ainbhiach (debt), etc.

The tendency that prevails in some dialects to aspirate the prepos tions does not extend with us to do, de, fo, and gu, but affects all the prepositional pronouns, except those formed from fo and, of course, troimh. A preceding *n*, as is known, prevents the aspiration of *d* (and *t*) in Gaelic, but not always with us in a collocation of words that is constantly in use, *e.g.*, na bean dha, dhomh, etc., don't touch him, etc., comes more readily to us than na bean da. So with *s*; but fagus duit is never fagus dhuit. Co, as, is always cho, except sometimes for emphasis tha e co dubh ri fitheach. Féin is always aspirated. The phrases mur i (were it not, unless, mur i gu 'n d' rinn thu e, had you not done it), and cha 'n fhaod a bi! (it cannot be, surely not!) are noteworthy.

Eclipsis.

Eclipsis is confined to the tenues and *f*. At Blair it is constant and regular after *n* (*m* with *p* and *f*), *e.g.*, an tarbh and nan tarbh are an darbh, nan darbh; an cabar, nan cabar, are an gabar, nan gabar, am pàisd, nam pàisd, are am and nam bàisd, am fear, nam fear, are am and nam bhear. So an tog, an cluich, am pronn, am fàg, are an dog, am bhàg, etc.. air am fàgail is air am bhàgail, and so on. Cf. the Dean of Lismore's gan degow (gun teagamh). In Strathtay, except in an tig, an téid, na'n tigeadh, na 'n téideadh, it is variable, *i.e.*, the tenues and *f* sometimes are and sometimes are not eclipsed. It is oftener heard with *t* and *f* than with the others, *e.g.*, am faigh is sometimes am bhaigh and sometimes am faigh. As in some other dialects, *b*, *d*, and *g* after *n* (*m* before *b*) are sounded not as in other positions in Gaelic, but like English *b*, *d*, and *g*.

In Strathtay, in quick utterance, the other way in dealing with those groups is sometimes followed, *e.g.*, co' fear tha an sin, na' pilleadh e (he would return). This takes place more readily with the mediae, *e.g.*, co' duine tha an sin, and occurs with the genitive plural of the article and with the conjunction na'n, na'm. It is found more decidedly both at Blair and in Strathtay in

certain combinations of words. Anns am bith, in sense of 'any,' is 's a' bith, as fear 's a' bith, 'any man.' Anns an and anns a', 'in the,' are of course quite commonly 's an or 's 'n, and 's a', as cuir 's 'n fhaug e, bha e an so 's a' gheamhradh ; tha e 's a' bhaile. Before dentals all is gone except *s* ; tha e 's dùthaich, 'he is in the country' ; cuir 's teine e, 'put it in the fire.' Of course *t* for old *d* of the article appears before *s* ; tha e 's t-sabhal, 'it is in the barn' ; thig e s t-samhradh, etc. Even with foghar and earrach *t* appears—bha e 's t-fhoghar, bha e 's t-earrach, which, though differing from modern are in agreement with the old Gaelic isind fhogomur, isind errach. Stigh and steach are of course classical instances. The full forms anns an, anns am, may be heard in more formal speech.

Assimilation and Dissimilation.

Some other phenomena may be dealt with under this heading, though even eclipsis is properly a form of assimilation, only that it is external and not internal. In contrast with the preceding is the insertion of *t* in the adverbs an t-so, an t-sin, an t-sud, and mu'n t-seach (here, there, yonder, across). Similar is the *t* in Chaidh e an t-seilbh (at other times na 'sheilbh) is rinn e e (he set about it and did it) ; chaidh e an t-seilbh a' ghnothaich (he set about the business) ; and in Strathtay the *t* in bonn t-sè (halfpenny), and De an t-sòrt th' ann and De an sòrt th' ann, both used indifferently. The combination *nt* is got rid of wherever possible, note baindiorna for baintighearna ; but even that has evidently been more tolerable than *ns*, which is avoided by one expedient or another in most dialects if not in all, *e.g.*, an so appears elsewhere as an t-so or an d-so, an a so, and a so. Cf. *nd* supra.

Broad *n* somehow takes *t* or *d* after it very readily, *e.g.*, tabhunntaich (barking), deargannt (cf. however E. Ir. dergnat), and the borrowed words lùrdannt (cunning), stannd (a vat), and in Strathtay pàndair (beans).

There is a suffixing of terminal dentals with other consonants, mostly in loan words, *e.g.*, cumaint (common), bruthaist, bagaist (baggage), sùbailt, tubhailt, speisealt (comely, creditable, M. Ir. sbesailte, special), but not in biteal (elsewhere biotailt). There are at least of native instances, faighneachd (ask), so throughout, and amailt for amail (hindrance). It is a question if our daonalt (always) and daonnan or daondan can be regarded as the same word.

Strub, spout, from Scot. stroup, is in Strathtay strump. At Loch Tay and in Strathtay there is also strump, meaning a stump, applied at Blair (in plural) to a stubbly growth of beard. This in turn evidently owes its *r* to the foregoing word. In eisiomplair we have assimilated *p* to *m*, in aindeoin *d* to *n*, and *t* to *nn* in ma shanntaicheas (tu, e, etc.), which is very common in the sense 'if you choose or care (to do anything).' So na'n sannaichinn, but in the sense of 'covet' *t* is always kept.

MacAlpine's stuidearra is with us stuidearna, uaigneach is uairgneach as in Skye, and guilbneach is guilbearnach. Stroc, applied to a piece of wood, an old horse, etc, is evidently the word stoc, a stump, etc. The word for thistle is faighrean and foighrean, which may be compared with aigheannach and oighionnach. Macleod and Dewar make the latter (*o* form) feminine, and the former (*a* form) masculine, with the additional meaning 'place where thistles grow.' Lunnain, muinichill, and capall-coille are with us Lumainn, muilichir, and capar-coille. Sgùlan, in Strathtay sgùilean, is at Blair sgùlar. Leumnaich or leumraich we have made leumartaich. Mnathan (wives) is bnathan, pronounced brāthan, and the genitive singular also when used is brā. Mnathan, pronounced mrāthan, E. Ir. mná, is itself for a pre-historic *bnâs*; but in view of the E. Ir. form our *b* must be regarded as a recent development from *m*, and not as a preservation of the original. Taillse (*a* as *ao* short) for taibhse is notable, as the tendency elsewhere is to assimilate *ll* to *s* in such words as soillse, foillsich. Dhal-stigh, and in Strathtay and Lochtayside also al-stigh (within time), al-stigh do dha là (within two days), in other dialects a stigh do dha là, can hardly be referred simpliciter to a stigh (inside). Ma rua, alas, woe, both compassionate and threatening; ma rua dhuit! woe to you! in Sutherland and Ross ma ruar seems to be the mo nuar of Laoidh Dheirdre. (See also Vol. XV., p. 208, of the Transactions.)

At Blair urlar is ullar, while in Stathtay currachd, or rather currac, may sometimes be heard as curlac, and the cuilidh-siùchaireachd of Blair as cuirlidh siùcaireachd. The sglàmhraig (for sglamhruinn) of East Perthshire is in Rannoch sglànihrsa, at Loch Tay sglàmhrsaig. The Rannoch aimhreas shows confusion between aimhleas and aimhrèit.

Prothesis.

There are a few instances of prothesis. Eag, oir (edge), aithnich, are feag, foir, faithnich. Os (above) is bhos, sometimes

fos, perhaps influenced by bho (from). On the other hand freumh and faileas are reumh and aileas, probably derived from ail (mark, impression). The imperative of faic in familiar speech is aic, which is never used independently, but is always followed by the pronouns aic thu, aic sibh. The interjection oit oit (so Strathtay), expressive of heat, is foit foit at Blair.

Sgiolc, compared by Mr Maçbain with Eng. skulk, is giolc with us. MacAlpine's toraidh, a word to excite bulls (whence Tory), is with us stór. Gunna-sgailc (pop-gun) is gunna-gailc. Compare also smàigean (frog) with màgan.

The bat is an dialltag-anmoch, influenced by our diaghaltach (fond of).

A few other remarks may be grouped together. Such addenda as are found in Strathtay in an dràstaich, rithisdich, fhathastaich, are found, especially with the demonstratives in other districts, *e.g.*, Sutherland, Kin'yre.

A predilection for slender sounds appears in coirc (oats), ainneamh (rare), air adhairt (forward), fadhairseach, at Blair fadharsach, cumaint (common), siobhailt from civil, the Irish síothamhuil, E. Ir. sídamuil being our sítheil. Farsuinn, fàrsanachd, tarsuinn, ursainn, have *r* broad, *s* slender farsinn, fàrseanachd, etc.

Balair for barail, Dean of Lismore ballir, occurs also in Badenoch, and coilinn for coinneal is common. Achlais, arm-pit, in some dialects asgall, Ir. ascall, M. Ir. ochsal, is with us aslaic. Provection alone is not sufficient to explain toman-ealaidh, spider, for damhan-allaidh.

The Article.

The *s* of the article which is preserved after an, a, gu, le, and ri was found in the old language with other prepositions of consonantal terminal sound, and of these one instance remains in Perthshire (East and West). 'On the fire' is airs teine, as cuir airs teine e, tha e airs teine, which was in the old language forsin tenid, the an, old in, of the article being lost as described above. That *s* is preserved before gach also, but not invariably thàinig fear a gach àite or as gach àite; and there is the like uncertainty both in other dialects and in the old language.

Declension.

The tendency is to reduce the inflections of the noun to two forms, the singular and the plural, *e.g.* tigh an fhear, plu. na fearan, but as a rule the plural is properly formed ceann, plu.

cinn ; fiadh, plu. féidh ; coileach, pl. coilich. The following may be noted—abhainn, g. abhna, p. abhnaichean ; amhaich, g. amhcha ; teangaidh, p. teangaidhean ; monadh, g. monaidh, p. monaidhean and monachan ; dorus, p. doirsinn ; dùthaich, p. dùithchean ; teine, p. teineachan ; obair, p. obraichean and obairchean ; ceard, p. ciûird ; gniomh, p. gniomhan ; latha, p. lathan and lathaichean ; easg (an eel), p. easgan. Creag has n.s. craig, n.p. cragan and creagan. Beann, the old nominative of beinn, is not obsolete, though it is not a word that is often used as a common noun. In many instances the oblique case has displaced the true nominative, *e.g.*, n.s. cluais, n.p. cluaisean, so ceairn for cearn ; especially is that the case with *nn* stems, *e.g.*, n.s. gobhainn, n.p. goibhnichean ; Gobha is, however, retained as a family name. The dental plural luchaidh (mice) is still kept in Strathtay, although the singular has become luchag, from which another plural, luchagan, has been formed. Distinctive genitives such as leapach and leapa, E. Ir. leptha, from leabaidh, coille for coinnle from coinneal, are generally in use.

Infinitives in *-adh* are not inflected, but that is due not to adherence to what is philologically correct, but to the modern disregard of inflection, as is shown by the retention of the inflected form in stereotyped expressions like muileann-bualaidh, muileann-sàbhaidh, muileann-galcaidh. The tendency of stereotyped words and phrases to preserve inflections is also exhibited in 'caol mo, do, etc., dhuirn,' 'caol nan dorn,' 'solus geal nan trath,' etc., the noticeable feature of which is that the nominatives never supplant the genitives as they do in extemporised syntax. The word 'tigh' keeps its genitive well, the distinction being made between the two cases that *i* is sounded short *avi* in the nominative and *ai* in the genitive. Stereotyped plural datives are found like beulaobh, culaobh, and perhaps chianaibh (written chianamh by Macleod and Dewar), and the vocative fheara sounded fhearu, but in Rannoch fheara. More interesting is the preservation of coin, the old dative of cu, in Cho lonach ris a' choin, as greedy as the dog. Bó, gen. bó, is never used in the plural, crodh being substituted for it. The genitive boin is heard, I believe, at Loch Tay. Talamh, masculine, has one genitive talaimh, masculine, and another na talmhainn, feminine. Summer, winter, are with us usually samhar, geamhar, genitives samhair, geamhair, but sometimes the correct forms with their genitives assert themselves as toiseach an t-samhraidh, deireadh a' gheamhraidh, and even, as in other dialects, through the force of analogy, meadhon an fhogharaidh. Reodh, frost, pronounced reu, has two genitives, pronounced respectively rewi and reo'i.

PRONOUNS.

The third personal pronouns are *a* and *aid*, except in the positions detailed under *ia*, when they are pronounced *e*, *èid*; in Strathtay the plural is sometimes also *ad* and *èad*; the emphatic forms are *ais*, *aids*, etc. The emphatic particle *sa* retains but a faint echo of its vowel usually, and is used with the first person plural of the prepositional pronouns, *e.g.*, againns, not againn-ne.

The interrogative ciod, except in ciod air bith, or ciod 's am bith, is usually gu dé, or even dé. In Strathtay, ceachd is used for whether (or not)? and also for which one? but in latter sense is followed by fear, té, or *an* (for aon). Ciamar, why, is ci'mar.

Aon in enumeration is pronounced with *ao* as *ù*; used with a noun it is sounded *ann*, as ann fhear; as an indefinite pronoun it is *an*, sounded by us as if it were for *ana*, *e.g.*, Bheil an agad?—Cha 'n 'eil ann an = 'Have you one?—Not (a single) one.' Cha 'n 'eil ann an ann, there is not one in it. Ann an may be compared with the Manx unnane (one), used as a substantive, and the Old Irish oenán, 'ullus.'

Some forms of the Prepositional Pronouns are—diaoinn, diaoi' (dinn, dibh), eadaruinn, eadarui, eataru (Old etrunn, etruib, etarru), foidhe, Old foi, which is the preposition plus the accusative of the pronoun, while in fodha, Old foa, it is the dative of the pronoun; lium, liuinn, liui, leu or lewa, for leam, leinn, leibh, leo, Old lemm and liumm, lenn and linn, lib, leu, and lethu; bhot, bhoith, bhoipe, bhopa; uat, uaith, uaipe, uapa, with *bh* in other forms. Other forms are eadarum, eadarut (1st and 2nd sing.), as eadarut is am balla, between you and the wall (O. Ir. etrom, Ir. eadrat); also gunaibh, without you, O. Ir. cenuib.

THE VERB.

The regular verb is fully kept in the active voice with the exception of the forms in *am* (1st sing impv.) and *maid*, which are seldom heard. The Future Indicative has a terminal *s* before the pronouns tu, e, iad, *e.g.*, togs tu e (you will lift it), etc. The *s* is held to be that of si (she), which has been extended sometimes to e and iad. It is a precarious explanation for a phenomenon so firmly fixed and so widely spread as this is in the North Highlands, and it can scarcely stand without being supported by the assumption that the form has at least been influenced by the recollection of the old *s* Future. The regular form of the Future is always used when the subject is a noun, as ruithidh clach le gleann. Before all the personal pronouns the future inflection is wanting, *e.g.*, tog 'mi e (I will lift it); ruith mi (I will run); so bris sinn e, bàth sibh e, etc.

"The 2nd plural Imperative," Mr Macbain says, "retains the old form in Badenoch, though in the literary language and in the other dialects it has given way to the force of analogy. Thus, in the grammars we have eisdibh (hear ye), the *bh* of which is taken from *sibh*; but Badenoch maintains the original eisdidh or eisdith, just as the Dean of Lismore has it in 1512—eistith." Eisdidh or éisdith, and so with other verbs, is our form also, and it is so not because it is the old form, but because sibh is pronounced si with us. The Dean, however, has also estew, and in Rannoch, as already noticed, the form is éisd'u, which shows another pronunciation of sibh, viz., siu (s'u).

The Infinitives of caomhain, coisinn, fosgal, innis, seachainn (for seachain), are caomhan, coisinn, fosgal, innis, seachann. Bean (touch), fan, lean, have beanachd, fanachd, leanachd.

The Passive forms, with the exception of the participle, are seldom used, the sense being expressed by the verbs 'to be' and 'to go' joined to the infinitive or passive participle, as tha e air 'fhaighinn (he is found); bha e air a thogail, or chaidh a thogail (he was lifted); chaidh a moladh (she was praised); tha e briste (it is broken); bha e briste (it was broken).

The Passive participle of verbs ending with unaspirated mutes and explosives is in -it instead of in -te, *e.g.*, stracte, ithte, mùchte, tùchte, deasaichte, bògte, fàisgte, are stracait, ichit, mùchait, tùchait, deasaichit, bògait, fàisgit; tachdte, séidte, dóirte, baiste, dìte are tachdait, séidit, dóirtit, baistit, dìtit; reubte, prabte, sgapte are reubait, prabait, sgapait. 'Swollen' is atait. Some of those appear otherwise, fàiste tachte, and all, except those with terminal dentals, appear sometimes in the regular form. The *-it* form extends into West Perthshire also, *e.g.*, at Loch Tay 'nailed' is tairgit. Professor Rhys, who has observed the same form in some Manx verbs, but without indicating its range, *e.g.*, banniít, *i.e.*, beannaichit (blessed), with the characteristic Manx loss of slender *ch*, explains it as the suffix of the passive participle of the old second conjugation. Our form may be the result of differentiation, or the wish to distinguish, *e.g.*, dìt-t' from dìt, combined with the endeavour after ease of utterance. Compare gabhaid and faicid which occur in Sutherlandshire for the Passive Subjunctives gabhteadh and faicteadh.

Of the irregular verbs, thubhairt has two futures, their and abairidh. Thoir has infinitive to'art and tort (*o* close). Gheibh is gheo (close *o*). Chaidh has deach for deachaidh, and reach for rach, &c. Thàinig is often thàin, and chunnaic chunna, and even chunn.

ADVERBS.

Some adverbs of time are air bhó 'n de (close *e*), (on) the day before yesterday; air bhó 'n raoir (the night before last); air bhó 'n uiridh (the year before last); bho meaning 'from' to which the accent has been shifted, and all that follows in each case is pronounced as one word. 'The next day' or 'the morrow' (not to-morrow) is an altar mhàireach for the usual an la'r n' mhàireach, which, with an la prefixed, is the Irish ar na mhárach, Early Irish, iarnabárach, arnabárach, &c., rendered 'day after to-morrow,' which is surely a mistake for 'the morrow,' or 'the next day.' But what is altar or alt—an alt air mhàireach? Macleod and Dewar give 'alt time.' Carswell (p. xxiv.) has an dara mhàireach.

A muigh and a steach are not used, a mach and a stigh being employed, both of motion and of rest. Upwards and downwards are an aird and a bhàn; up and down (rest) are uthard and iolar, at Blair, h-uthard and h iolar. Iolar is not a good spelling, the sound of *io* being short *ao* in one place and short û in another. The derivation seems to be an-làr. Uthard, in view of our tendency to retraction, might be for urad, and that, or rather thurad, is the form in Sutherlandshire.

PREPOSITIONS.

The preposition 'beside' is oftenest expressed by nà ri or a nà ri; tha e ı à ruit, it is near to you, it is beside you; tha e nà ris an tigh. Like mar ri, nà ri is sounded as one word, *i.e.*, with the accent on nà. At Blair it is nài ri. The *n*, being aspirated, may belong to the preposition an. It furnishes a rhyme in

> "Thuirt an dubh luidinneach ris an dubh-spàgach
> Damhsaidh mi cuide ruit, suidhidh mi nà riut,"

which is as much as to say "Birds of a feather flock together." The word is as old at least as the time of the Dean of Lismore, who has nawriss (Rel. Celt. I., 46).

CONJUNCTIONS.

The Conjunction 'before' is mus an, or mus alone, as mus an tàinig e, or mus tàinig e, before he came. 'Else' is air dheodh and air deodh. 'Lest' is dh' eagal gu 'n. The indirect interrogative conjunction 'to see if,' the 'if haply' of the Scriptures is dh' fhios an in Strathtay. It occurs in Dr James Macgregor's "Obair an Spioraid Naoimhe."

"'S theid thu rannsach' le dùrachd
'S le mor ghràin do d' mhi-churam,
Dh' fhios am faighear Ceann-iùil dut
A sheòlas slighe as ùr dhut,
'S e do mhiann a nis cùl chur ri t' àbhaist."

Quotations are introduced by the formula mus an duirt thu fhèin e, mus an duirt am fear eile e, 'as you said yourself,' etc. 'In order that' is ors gu 'n, as, Sgriobh mi ors gu 'n cluinninn uait, I wrote in order that I might hear from you. It may be a corruption of a los which is used in the same way. The latter form is used exclusively with an infinitive following, *e g.*, The e a los a dheanamh, he intends to do it.

Interjections.

The Interjection expressive of great heat has been mentioned; that similarly expressive of cold is aoit aoit (ûit ûit). Ab ab and (stronger) tha bhap correspond very much to ub ub. Fuich sometimes expressive of disgust, but then oftener fich, at other times corresponds to English tuts, as does fuidh fuidh to tut tut. Fìth bìb corresponds to 'fie, shame,' as does ce ce to come, come. Cf. Scot. kay kay of like meaning. Moram or moram fhéin (tha, 's e, etc.), has been referred to mo anam, but is more likely to be for Moire umam.

Accent.

The position of the accent determines when a compound word should be written with or without a hyphen between the parts. Thus teann-shàth is with us teannath, accented on first syllable; dì-chuimhne is diochain, and ban-mhaighstir, banaistir; ban-tighearna is bendiorna, and cas-bheart, caiseart, where there is vowel infection in addition; so lethbhreac, lethcheann, leth-char, leth-taobh, etc., are all as one word, lebhreac, etc.

The change of *o* to *u*, associated with loss of accent in bonn t-se, and of *e* to *i* in gean-math, have been mentioned, and there are other instances of changes accompanying movements of accent. The preposition thun (from gu) is pronounced un, but in the adverbial phrase thun bhi, meaning almost or nearly, equivalent to gu bhi, as tha e gu bhi deas, gu bhi stigh, it is about ready, it is almost in, it is accented and pronounced hun. Le chéile, when it means 'together.' is accented in the ordinary way on chéile, but when it means 'both,' le also is accented, and has its vowel long lè. The vowel of the first syllable éiginn used pronominally loses its accent, and is shortened in general. With

us in ordinary usage it disappears entirely, as fear'ginn, rud'ginn, cuid'ginn, etc.; but when the word is emphatic the syllable is retained and accented, and the vowel is changed into û, as fear h-ûiginn, la h-ûiginn (û'ginn), etc. Compare also air bhó 'n dé, etc., supra, in which *o* and *é* have become *ó* and *e*, and also the lengthening of the pronoun in such expressions as Mo thruaighe thù, etc., and Ma rua thù, which influenced by the other idiom Ma rua dhuit, is with us sometimes Ma rua dhù.

VOCABULARY.

aoghaist (*gh* sounded), Strathtay, fishing line; ad-gaoisid.

bacraineach, Strathtay, the larger ferns, as distinguished from the bracken.

bata in gu bata, 'abundance,' stronger than gu leòir. At Loch Tay they make it gu bata na peasarach. Cf. MacAlpine's buta, difference (in price), surplus; in Arran discount. From Eng. bate.

beò, air in gentle motion; tha am beò a' fàs fuar, the air is growing cold; chan 'n eil beò ghaoith ann, there is not a breath of air. It is not used of (vital) breath, which is the primary signification of deò.

beò, life, as dé am beò th' ort, equivalent to how are you. The old language had the noun which seems to be overlooked in modern dictionaries.

beòlan, livelihood; tha e a' faotainn a bheòlain, he gets his living.

bleithteach, a kind of gruel; at Loch Tay bleith-teò, from bleith.

bonn, to sole (boots, etc.), from bonn, noun.

brabhd, anything bulky, especially a big and very stout person; so at Abriachan and in MacAlpine.

broadag, a tantrum; ghabh e braodag, he took offence, he took the huff. See the vocabulary in Dr Henderson's edition of John Morrison's Poems, and cf. the Abriachan braothag with same meaning.

buann, plural buanntaich, masculine, a child, Strathbraan.

bulbhag, in bulbhag chloiche, a boulder; Macleod and Dewar balbhag, pebble.

bulg, to bulge, same as bolg, verb, marked obsolete by Macleod and Dewar.

caig, to teaze, torment; v. Macleod and Dewar under 'teaze' and 'teazer.'

càs, as in bha e an 'càs gu'n tigeadh tu, he was anxious that you would come.

ceabhcach (cyawcach), artful, wily; cf. ciagach, sly-humoured.

ceabhcair (cyawchcair), Blair and Loch Tay, rogue, wily fellow.
cealaich, conceal, hide.
cearmanaich, to tidy.
ceireanaich, to fondle, make much of, make comfortable; from ceithreimhean, quarters, lodgings; for ceithreamhnan.
ciad, Strathtay, opinion, impression; ghabh mi droch ciad deth, I formed a bad opinion of him: cf. ceudfadh.
cillean (Blair), a scamp; is e cillean gràndа a th' ann, he is a nasty fellow.
cith, "ardour" (Armstrong); cith chatha is equal to mire chatha; an cith, in the mood, attuned, eager to do (anything).
clisneach, one side or slope of a roof; clisneach, a bar-gate, is the same word, as is also clisneach, the human body (frame), etc. Rob Donn's cliseach, side of the body.
clòimhneag, flake of snow, shows confusion between lóineag and clòimh.
cnèadag, a fir-cone; at Loch Tay and Strathtay, shinty; also at Loch Tay, cluich chnèad, shinty.
cnèapall, a garter; in Skye cneapailt (Armstrong creapall). Shaw has creabille, garter, and creapail, to stop, hinder, etc. Macleod and Dewar give cnàimh-built, from cnàimh and balt! Cf. creapall, entangling, hindering, founded on English cripple (Macbain).
co-leic (accent on leic), a cuff, a slap.
corpaich, to be disgusted at, to revolt from; chorpaich mi ris, Loch Tay. Equal to fùrlaich, sub. in meaning.
croidhle (*oi* as *aoi*), an egg-shaped wicker receptacle for balls of worsted; 'a basket, hamper' (Armstrong); in Skye croidhleag.
culm, energy, push, liveliness (about business); culmor, vigorous, active. John Macgregor has the latter—

> "Eiridh Sithain is Tururich,
> Gu cuilmar a' t' aobhar
> Is na leomhain nach aomadh
> O dha thaobh Lochafraochaidh"—p. 180.

cuilidh-siùchaireachd, at Blair, cuirlidh-slucaireachd in Strathtay, doing things in a corner, sly work. From siochair, fairy; M. Ir. sidhcaire, fairy host.
curraidh, to sit on the heels, as sailors and colliers do; called in the Lowlands the "colliers' curry," curry itself meaning a stool; Welsh cwrrian, verb, and cwrrwm, noun.
dana, the evil one, tha e a' dol thun na dana, he is going to the bad. It occurs in the place-name Glaic na dana, to which a legend is attached.

deanaich, working; bheil e a' deanaich an dràsda, has he got employment, has he got a job at present, or a mill, *e.g.*, it is going at present (in opposition to being closed and disused).

diaghaltach (air), fond of (anyone or anything).

dràichd (Strathtay), a slattern, a drudge (Armstrong).

dréug, a horse? The old prophecy "Bheir sean dréug bhàn na bhios dh' oighreachan air Bealach thun na Cille" is said tp have been fulfilled by an undertaker who rode an old white horse when making the arrangements for the funeral of the last of the old line.

driug, any illness, the name and cause of which are unknown. The way it is used is ghabh e driug; evidently the word dreag.

dromach, the 'rigbody' or saddle-chain of a cart; from druim.

dubh-reabha, and dubh-reabhgan, a mole; 'dubh-reotha' (Armstrong); for dubh-threabhadh, black digger.

dùcan, a heap; Armstrong, dùc id.

duiteag, a stout little woman; in Arran, doiteag id. Argyllshire tradition says that it was 'na doiteagan Muileach' (the Mull witches) who raised the tempest that wrecked the Spanish Armada

eididh, suit, dress; not éididh.

fabhair, a whisper, faint rumour; *vo-beir.

fabhunn, a rumour, report; *vo-sven.

fasdadh, at Blair fasgadh, fix, fasten.

feò, Loch Tay and Strathtay synonymous with beò, supra; feò fuar a chamhanaich, the cold morning air. Macleod and Dewar, feochan, s.v. 'air.'

frioghlaisg, a shred of skin turning up at the base of the finger-nail; at Loch Tay, barb of hook also.

fùcadh, pushing, or moving heavily.

fùrlaich, revolt from, havè an antipathy to; dh' fhùrlaich e ris, he cannot endure it.

futhair, the dog days; cf. 'fure days, late in the afternoon; fair fure days, broad day-light,' Jameson, who cites A.S. forth dages; Teut. veur-dagh. Cf. Dr Henderson, "Leabhar nan Gleann," p. 4.

geabhag, twist, distortion; geabhgach, awry, askew; at Blair, geoic and geocach.

glidich and glid, to move slightly.

gnòimh, sulky look; chuir e gnòimh air, he made faces.

gonan, at Blair goinnean, grass roots; cf. goin-fheur and cona, cat's tail or moss-crops.

iomallas, hesitation, uncertainty.
ite, an adze, Scots eetch.
labanaich, bedraggle, bespatter with mud.
làdas, loud talk, Blair and Loch Tay.
leatach, remote, isolated; from leath-taobh.
leiceid, Loch Tay also; at Blair, leicheid. Macleod and Dewar, leacaid, a slap on the cheek; Manx leygad; from leac, cheek.
liab, a rag, tatter.
loir, to wallow.
longadh, a diet, id. Munro's Grammar; pronounced by us lõ (for lõ'a?).
lùig, to desire, long, wish; at Loch Tay 'ludhaig air' is used in the sense of to wish (to or on) one.
luis, outrush of water; luis fhuachd, a cold shiver.
luthasaich, to allow, permit.
maoidheanach, friendly; from maoidhean.
milean, noun, fawning; cf. mio'asg.
moislich, v.n., Strathtay, to stir (out of sleep); in Lewis smuaislich.
[mothar, a park, clump of trees, etc., Armstrong, Windisch.] Place name in Glenlyon
mùganach, damp and misty of weather; from mùig (mùg); at Blair mùchanach, influenced by mùch.
murtha'l, grumbling; also murlaich.
nianradh, in clach-nianradh, grinding stone.
nichean, a thing, plu. nicheanan, used often in emphasis for ni. John Macgregor has it, p. 121. The *-an* has not the sound of the dim, *-an* perhaps for nitheann.
patan, a cloth tied round the cheeks as for toothache.
peallag, a trollop; from peall in sense of rough, unkemp.
pleigh, to fight.
prèamh (Blair), synonymous with pràmh, a slumber. light sleep.
pri-taoil, a clatter; na leig bhan e le pri-taoil, don't let it down with a clatter or suddenly; thainig e stigh le pri-taoil, he came rushing in. So Loch Tay.
pròis, beseech, entreat, urge.
ràidh (air), to scold, to 'rage at.'
raigealtach, rascal, rollicking fellow.
reamalair, same as ramhlair.
reòta, reòt', frosty, distinct from reoidhte, frozen; also reòtaidh (Strathtay) as oidhche reòtaidh, a frosty night.
reòta, reòt', frost, chiefly in the phrases fuachd an reòta and tìr an reòta, both which occur in John Macgregor's Songs (pp. 152 215). Munro (p. 45 of Grammar) makes it the only genitive of eotha.

riad, a crack, a split (in wood), (Blair).

rioghainn, a regular verb, with infinitive rioghainn, to reach to, to arrive at; an rioghainn thu air, can you reach it; an do rioghainn thu an t-àite, did you reach the place.

saich, ill; Armstrong has soithich, s.v. 'ill' (*ai* as short *aoi*). Properly 'bad,' in health, E. Ir., saich, eter maith ocus saich (both good and bad), Leabhar na h-Uidhre.

samht, a thud, also a very stout person.

seachainn, dispense with, do without, avoid.

seanagar, sagacious, wise; cf., seanagarra.

seirean, ankle, Strathtay and Loch Tay; so Armstrong. Early Irish, seir, translated heel; v., Macbain, s.v., speir.

sgeilc, noun and verb, a crackling sound, to crackle, *e.g.*, of burning wood, of seed-pods of broom bursting; sgeilceil, crackling; cf. sgeilcearra.

sgèith, a shape; also verb, to cut, to lop, to shape. Macalpine sgeith.

sgiorlaich, to crush (*e.g.*, an orange), to squash.

sgiut, to scatter, equal to sgiot.

sglogaist, a large spit, distinguished from sglongaid by absence of colouring matter.

siach, to avoid, Strathtay.

sic, a snatch, an attempt; thug an cu sic air, the dog snapped at him; thug e sic as a dhéidh, he made a dash after him.

sìochadh, peace; mentioned under *mh*. John Macgregor (p. 68) says:—

> "Do 'n Righ bha iad dionach,
> Anns gach ni a bha ciatach
> Cumail riaghailt is siochadh 's an rioghachd."

slàdaig (air), working hard at, going at it; cf. slachdadh.

smaiteard, youth, young 'spark.' Strathtay.

spacadh, wrestling; cha iad ri spacadh, or tha iad a cur spacadh.

> "'S 'n uair a bhuail a throigh an tràighe
> Cha bhiodh e màll a ghlacadh e
> Bu luaithe steudadh e na ghaoth
> 'S cha chumadh Caoilte spaca ris."

John M'Gregor, p. 121 (also p. 116).

spealp, a high-spirited youth; Strathtay. A poem in the "Highland Monthly," Vol. II., p. 287), has the lines—

> "Chaill i spealp do dhuin' uasal
> Ga 'm bu dual a bhi treabhach."

spoltadh, scattering drops of water, etc., from a vessel; spoltan, plural, drops so scattered.
stac, a thick set little man.
stairmeil, sturdy, plucky.
stairn, a particle; bheil stairn ann, is there any in it; perhaps primarily is there sound of anything in it. Stàirn, noise, is stairn with us.
stalc, a stout, burly man.
steairn, a roaring fire; also tha steairn air, he is tipsy.
stiollan, a string, a cord. Cf. stiall.
stràc, quantity, Loch Tay; stràc math shneachdaidh, heavy fall of snow.
straighlear, noisy fellow.
striall, a long rag; so MacAlpine.
stùig, projecting, jutting out.
stulp, a knob, as of a chair or bed.
tairleas, cupboard. Cf. Welsh twrlaes or torllaes, paunch-bellied.
taiteadh, to tame, reconcile to a new home.
tarradh, 'leading,' *i.e.*, carting the corn home to the stackyard.
tiolm, a bite, a mouthful.
ùbairt, moving heavy articles.
ùrach, change, alteration, used as atharrach is sometimes, but with the sense of newness rather than mere change, *e.g.*, chuir e air ùrach dòighe e, he put it in a new way.

A few of the calls to animals may be noticed. To call a horse prog prog and progaidh are used; to call a cow pruidh pruidh and a calf pruith-é. To call a dog to drive away cattle usg usg, usgaidh, usgus, and usg had (Eng. *u*), and in sending it at them, hurr had, and turr had are used. All are borrowed probably. Compare the Scots isk, iskie, and hirr, Welsh hyr, pushing or egging on, as well as the snarl of a dog—Jameson. The only others that need be mentioned are ciridh, the call to sheep, and poich poich, and poichidh to young pigs.

Borrowed words, both from English and from Scottish, are naturally numerous. A few not yet referred to may be mentioned, and in them *bh* between *a* or *o* and another consonant represents the sound of *u* in English 'our.'

bacaid, Scots backet, English bucket, Gael. bucaid.
bîûrtaig, to over exert, from burst. At Blair murtaig, influenced by murt.
bisidh, busy.
biteal, elsewhere biotailt.

blearom, nonsensical talker ; Scots bletherum ?
bleitheas, a blaze ; also small brushwood.
bobhdaig, beating.
breas, mantelpiece ; Scots brace
can, *e.g.*, tha e air a chan fhein, he is (in business) on his own account ; Scots, he is on his own can.
callathar, cool and healthy ; Sc. caller ; "Cho callathar ris a bhreac."
ceapaig, to catch, stop ; Scots kep.
cnèapan, a stool ; Scots creepy.
cuife and cuifean, a ninny ; Scots coof.
druitlig, to drill about, to drive round about ; Scots dreel.
druithleagan, oatmeal dough for feeding chickens, etc.
obhnaig, to touch, to meddle with ; Scots, to own, id.
obhraig, church collection, 'offering.'
ofhaich, use, worth, Blair. Bheil ofhaich ann, is it good, is there anything in it, is it of any use or value. From officium.
ofhaichear, an officer.
paisean, a faint ; chaidh e 'n a phaisean, he fainted ; from passion.
piùirn, a bobbin, 'pirn.'
plobht, a plump of rain, sound of anything falling into water ; 'plout.'
plòigh, diversion, amusement ; Scots ploy.
prabht, a trick ; Scots prat.
réabhair, one fond of running about.
réabhaireachd, running about ; apparently influenced at least by 'rover.'
riseil, to rustle.
searsa-mach, notice to quit.
smiòream, pith, mettle ; Scots smeddum.
sort (sorst), a kind, a sort.
stramb, to trample ; Scots stramp.

The Scottish girnall appears as gaoirneal in Strathtay, and gaoirlear (*ao* short) further west, and gardener as gairnlear, gairneil, and at Aberfeldy gairlear. Stock seems to have been borrowed twice, for it appears both as stoc, *e.g.*, stoc càil, and as stroc, a piece of firewood, applied metaphorically also to a bony old horse. Warning appears as bardaig, in West Perthshire bardainn, Duncan Ban barlainn. Brimstone is pronaistear. Such words as George, Janet, etc., take initial *d*—Deorsa, Deònaid, and so to change is teinntig, or sometimes seinntig.

There are four words which have the diphthong *aoi*, and all probably borrowed, viz., snaoic, a chunk, from snack ; slaoic, a large slice (Macfarlane slaoichd), ; paoic, a piece ; glaoic (Macbain gloichd).

The game of "Cattie and doggie" is ca-dog, and a common imprecation is 'An droch cam-on ort,' both expressions being accented on the last syllable.

Some usages of words may be noticed in conclusion. Anail is used for a rest, and gabh t' anail for take a rest, or rest yourself. Bard in Strathtummel as in Badenoch means a meadow. Cearn, which is constantly used for 'kitchen,' is known in the same sense elsewhere. Insane is air chéil, or air chéil 's an inntinn ; the word may be chéill. Coimhead means 'to look at,' except in 'g a choimhead, to see him ; it is not used for 'to keep,' which is cum. Gléidh means 'to find,' falbh is glèidh e, go and find it, except in Glèidh mise or sinne ! Crion is commoner than beag for 'little.' Eigh or eigh-mhoine is a peat-cutting spade. Fighеadair fodair, is a spider in Glenlyon. Gabhunn is gossip, gabhunnach, gossiping, as in 1st Timothy v. 13. Gàrraidh is both a garden and a wall, so that balla a' ghàrraidh and gàrraidh an lise mean the same thing, and are both in common use. Loinn, which with us means a stackyard, is a garden in Strathbraan. Rinn thu iòbairt dhe at Blair means you have made a muddle or a hash of it. Lad (mill lead) means loud and prolonged talk. A niarraidh is 'middling,' in reply to enquiry about health, literally 'in quest,' ann iarraidh. A shower of rain is almost invariably called ruaig. Rudach means kindly, attentive, affectionate. Sgeimhle is swagger. Soisinn is quietness, stillness (good behaviour). Bi tarruinn means Be off with you ! away ! Ullag is a mouthful of dry oatmeal. Baileach means very, and is entirely distinct in usage from buileach ; tha e baileach math means it is very good ; ehan'eil e buileach deis meaus it is not quite ready ; cf. Irish ballach tirim, quite dry. Luaidh air is nearly ; chan'eil e luaidh air deis, or air bhi deis. Very (hot, *e.g.*) may be expressed by baileach, borb, fuathasach, anabarrach, gailbheach, uamhasach, uamharraidh, etc., atc. De an dochas a ghabh thu a nis means what has come into your head now, what is this you are going to do. Ma h-è dhuit, which alone may be used as a threat, expresses when followed by gu'n and a clause, an earnest hope. Ma h-è dha gu'n tig e is equal to God grant that he may come.

4th NOVEMBER, 1897.

A largely attended meeting was held on this date, when Mr Alexander Mackenzie, of the "Scottish Highlander," delivered the first paper for Session 1897-98, the subject being "Mairi Nighean Alastair, Rory Mor's Cup and Horn, and Unpublished Macleod Traditions." It was proposed and seconded, and unanimously agreed to, that the Society records its deep regret at the death, recently, of an old and enthusiastic member of the Society, Captain Macra Chisholm of Glasburn, and it was remitted to the Secretaries to draw up a minute of condolence, and forward copy of same to Mrs Chisholm. Mr Mackenzie's paper was as follows:—

MAIRI NIGHEAN ALASTAIR RUAIDH.

I have been anxious for some time to correct certain fallacies which have always prevailed in connection with the life of this famous Gaelic poetess, Mary Macleod, and which have unfortunately been perpetuated by my relative, John Mackenzie, in his sketch of her in "The Beauties of Gaelic Poetry." The compiler of "Sàr Obair nam Bàrd" seems to have taken it for granted that the Sir Norman Macleod—"Sir Tormoid MacLeoid"—to whom the distinguished poetess composed most of her songs was the Chief of Macleod. But that was not so. There never was a Chief of the Macleods of Dunvegan and Harris named Sir Norman. The only knight among them was the famous Rory Mòr, Sir Roderick Macleod, who ruled from 1590 to 1626. He had, however, two younger sons, who were knighted by Charles II. for their services in 1651 at the battle of Worcester. These were Sir Roderick Macleod of Talisker, Tutor of Roderick Macleod, "the Witty," and Sir Norman Macleod of Bernera; and it was to the last-named, and to his son, John of Contullich, that Mary Macleod composed the songs that raised the ire of her young Chief, who, in a fit of jealousy for so doing, banished her to the island of Mull. We can all understand how this might have happened, but no one who knows the frailties of human nature can understand why the Chief of a great clan should have banished the distinguished family poetess for singing his own praises, as has hitherto been said.

John Mackenzie says that "An Talla 'm bu ghnàth le Mac-

Leòid" was composed on the Laird being sick and dying, who playfully asked Mary what kind of a lament she would make for him. "Flattered," he says, "by such a question, she replied that it would certainly be a very mournful one. 'Come nearer me,' said the aged and infirm Chief, 'and let me hear part of it.' Mary, it is said, readily complied, and sung, extempore, that celebrated poem." The subject of this lament, composed during his life, was undoubtedly Sir Norman Macleod of Bernera, for in the sixth verse the poetess addressed him directly as

"Sir Tormoid nam bratach,
Fear do dhealbh-sa bu tearc e,
Gun sgeilm a chuir asad no bòsd."

Her song, "Do dh' Iain Mac Shir Tormoid MacLeòid," was composed to the son of this Sir Norman of Bernera, for she describes him as "A mhic ud Shir Tormoid." This was on the occasion of his presenting her with a snuff-mull.

It was during her banishment in Mull that she composed "'S mi 'm shuidhe air an Tulaich," or "Luinneag Mhic-Leòid," not, as John Mackenzie would imply, to the young Chief of Macleod, but to her favourite, Sir Norman of Bernera. After lamenting her own exile in Mull, in sight of Jura and Sgarba, she says—

"Beir mo shoiridh do 'n dùthaich,
Tha fo dhubhar nan garbh-bheann,
Gu Sir Tormoid ur, allail,
Fhuair ceannas air airmailt
'S gun caint' anns gach fearann
Gum b' airidh fear t' ainm air."

And again, in the same poem—

"A mhic an fhir chliùitich *
A bha gu fiùghantach ainmeil,
Thug barrachd an gliocas,
Air gach Ridir bha 'n Albuinn;
Ann an cogadh 'san sio-chaint,
'S am dioladh an airgiod.

"'S beag an t' ioghnadh do mhac-sa,
Bhidh gu beachdail, mòr, meanmnach,
Bhidh gu fiùghant, fial, farsuinn,

* Sir Rory Mor.

O'n a ghlac sibh mar shealbh e;
Clann Ruairidh nam bratach,
'Se mo chreach-sa na dh' fhalbh dhiu.

" Ach an aon fhear a dh' fhuirich, †
Nir chluinneam sgeul marbh ort."

In " Fuaim an t' Saimh " she again directly addresses the subject of her praises as " Sir Tormoid mo rùn "—

" Beir an t' soraidh so uam,
Gu talla nan cuach,
Far am biodh tathaich nan truagh daimheil.

" Thun an taighe nach gann,
Fo 'n leathad ud thall,
Far 'm bheil aighear a's ceann mo mhanrain.

" Sir Tormoid mo rùn,
Ollaghaireach thù,
Foirmeil o thùs t' àbhaist.

" A thasgaidh 'sa chiall,
'Se bu chleachdadh dhut riamh,
Teach farsuinn 'se fial fàilteach."

As if to leave no doubt whatever regarding the subject of this poem, its author, speaking of Sir Norman's second wife, says—

" 'S tric a riaraich thu cuilm,
Gun fhiabhras gun tuilg,
Nighean Oighre Dhun-tuilm, slàn duit."

The lady was, as here stated, the daughter of Sir James Macdonald, IX. of Sleat, who then resided with his father, Sir Donald, at Duntulm, her father being, when Sir Norman married her, heir-apparent of Duntulm and Sleat.

John Mackenzie says that on this song, " Luinneag Mhic-Leoid," coming to Macleod of Dunvegan's ears, he sent a boat for the poetess, giving orders to the crew not to take her on board unless she would promise to compose no more songs on her return to Skye. " Mary readily agreed to this condition of release, and returned with the boat to Dunvegan Castle. Soon

† The only one remaining of them—Sir Roderick's sons—being then Sir Norman of Bernera, very advanced in years.

after this a son of the Laird's had been ill, and, on his recovery, Mary composed a song, which is rather an extraordinary composition, and which, like its predecessors, drew on her devoted head the displeasure of her Chief, who remonstrated with her for again attempting song-making without his permission." Mary's reply was—"It is not a song; it is only a 'Cronan'—that is, a hum or croon."

This could not have been said by the Chief who banished her, for he died, as we shall presently see, before she returned, but was said in jest by his brother and successor, who brought her back, and to whose second son, Norman, she composed her famous "Cronan," on his recovery from a serious illness.

It is manifest that none of the poems in which Norman Macleod of Bernera is described as "Sir Norman" could have been composed before 1660, which was the year in which the honour of knighthood was conferred upon him by Charles II. after the Restoration. It is equally manifest that she was not banished to the island of Mull for composing them by John Macleod, XV. of Macleod, Sir Norman's eldest brother, who died in September, 1649. She must have been exiled by John's son, Roderick, XVI. of Macleod, who was a minor at the date of his father's death. This Chief was served heir in special to his father on the 22nd of November, 1655, and on the 24th of February in the following year he was infeft in all the family estates, except Glenelg, in which he was infeft on the 19th of October, 1657. He died in January, 1664, without surviving male issue, when Mary, still in banishment in Mull, composed to him her well-known elegy, "Cumha do Mhac-Leòid," which he seems to have ill-deserved at her hands. From this poem it is clear that Roderick died away from his native land, and that he had a son and daughter, the first of whom, at least, predeceased him. Mary says in her exile—

> "Ge goirt leam an naigheachd
> Tha mi faighinn air Ruairidh,
> Gun a chorp bhi 'san dùthaich,
> Anns an tuama bu dual da."

And again, referring to the same Roderick and his son Norman, also deceased, she says—

> "Ach a Ruairidh mhic Iain,
> 'S goirt leam fhaighinn an sgéul-s' ort,
> 'Se mo chreach-sa mac t-athar
> Bhi na laidhe gun éiridh,

Agus Tormoid a mhac-sa
A thasgaidh mo chéile!
Gur e aobhar mo ghearain,
Gun do chailleadh le chéil' iad."

Roderick's daughter married Stewart of Appin, and her husband, on Macleod's death without male issue, claimed the Macleod estates. In her "Cumha," Mary resents this claim, in a burst of patriotic fervour, in the following stanzas:—

"Mhic Iain Stiùbhairt na h-Apunn,
Ged a's gasd an duin' òg thu,
Ged tha Stiùbhairtich beachdail,
'S iad tapaidh n' àm fòirneart;
Na gabh-sa meanmnadh, no aiteas,
As an staid ud nach còir dhut,
Cha toir thu i dh' aindeoin,
'S cha 'n fhaigh thu le deòin i.

"Cuim an tigeadh fear coigreach,
A thagradh ar n' oighreachd;
Ged nach 'eil e ro dhearbhta,
Gur searbh e ri éisdeachd;
Ged tha sinn air ar creachadh
Mu chloinn mhic an fhir fhéilidh,
Sliochd Ruairidh Mhòir allail,
'S gur soiridh iad fhéin oirr."

It is also quite certain that she composed "Cumha Mhic Leòid," which must not be confounded with "Cumha do Mhac Leòid," already referred to, to Sir Norman of Bernera after his death, and almost certainly after her return from Mull. She speaks as if actually seeing him dead—

"An treas la de 'n Mhàrt,
Dh' fhalbh m' aighear gu bràth,
Bi sud saighead mo chràidh,
Bhi 'g amharc do bhàis,
A ghnùis fhlathasach àillt';
A dheagh mhic rathail,
An àrmuinn éuchdaich."

She then names him as Sir Roderick's son—

"Mac Ruairidh reachdmhor,
Uaibhreach, bheachdail,
Bu bhuaidh leatsa,
Dualchas farsuinn,
Snuadh-ghlaine pearsa,
Cruadail a's smachd gun éucoir."

And she correctly describes his widow as—

"Inghinn Shéumais nan crùn,*
Bean chéillidh ghlan ùr,
Thug a céud ghradh ga rùn,
Bu mhòr a h-aobhar ri sunnd,
'Nuair a shealladh i 'n gnùis a céile."

Roderick Macleod, XV. of Macleod, who, as already stated, died without surviving male issue, in January, 1664, was succeeded by his brother, "Iain Breac" Macleod, a model Highland Chief, who kept a bard, harper, piper, and fool at Dunvegan Castle, and whose bard was undoubtedly the famous "Mairi Nighean Alastair Ruaidh," whom he had recalled from her banishment in Mull after, and probably to some extent on account of, her patriotic stanzas hurled against the Stewarts of Appin and their claim, and in favour of his own succession as heir male to the family estates of Dunvegan and Harris.

John Mackenzie says that Mary was born as early as 1569, but this is impossible from what is known of her later history. In one of her compositions she says that she nursed five Chiefs of the Macleods and two Lairds of Applecross. She could not possibly, even had she been born in 1569, have nursed Sir Roderick Macleod, who succeeded, advanced in years, in 1590, but she did nurse his son John, his grandsons Roderick and John "Breac," the latter of whom died in 1693—the same year as herself, at the great age of 105—and John's two sons, Roderick and Norman, who succeeded each other as Chiefs of the clan.

I referred briefly to this subject under "The Macleods of Bernera" in my "History of the Macleods," published in 1889, pp. 244-45, in the following terms:—"It was to this member of the clan [Sir Norman of Bernera] that the famous family poetess, 'Mairi Nighean Alastair Ruaidh,' composed all her Macleod poems given in Mackenzie's 'Beauties of Gaelic Poetry,' except her 'Cumha do Mhac Leòid,' composed to Roderick,

* Daughter of Sir James Macdonald of Sleat and Duntulm.

XV. of Macleod, grandson of Sir Rory Mòr; her 'Marbhrann do dh' Iain Garbh Mac Gillechallum Rarsaidh;' 'An Crònan;' and her 'Oran do dh' Iain Mac Shir Tormoid Mhic Leòid,' John of Contullich, Sir Norman's eldest son. It is quite clear from internal evidence that her 'Fuaim an t' Saimh,' 'An Talla 'm bu ghnàth le Mac Leòid,' 'Cumha Mhic Leòid,' and 'Luinneag Mhic Leòid,' were all composed to her favourite hero and benefactor, Sir Norman Macleod of Bernera. And this will fully account for what has hitherto been a puzzle—the banishment of the celebrated poetess by her Chief to the Island of Mull for composing, it has always hitherto been erroneously said, such splendid Gaelic poems in his own praises. The real reason for Mary's banishment was, on the contrary, the jealousy and annoyance of her Chief because nearly all her eulogies and best poems were composed in praise, not of himself, but of his relative, Sir Norman of Bernera, and that gentleman's eldest son, John of Contullich. 'There never was,' it was added, 'a Chief of the Macleods called Sir Norman, and in the five poems mentioned, 'Sir Tormoid,' 'The Warrior Son of Rory Mòr,' and 'The Husband of Sir James Macdonald's Daughter'—all three designations referring to one and the same person—is in each case directly addressed as the subject of the poems."

I venture to think that all this has been fully established on the present occasion from the poems themselves, and that I may now leave the subject, and pass on to

THE TRADITIONAL HISTORY OF RORY MOR'S CUP.

Some years ago I received very interesting traditions regarding Rory Mòr's Cup and its origin, from Donald Grant Macleod, LL.D., of the family of Glendale, and lineal descendant of the Macleods of Luskintyre, for many years, and still, judge of Moulmain, Burmah, too late for use in my "History of the Macleods," published in 1889. They were collected and taken down by his distinguished uncle, Dr Bannatyne William Macleod, Inspector-General of Army Hospitals in Bengal, who succeeded in gathering together a considerable amount of material, with the intention, never carried out, however, of writing a history of the Clan Macleod. I give the traditions as they reached me. They are as follows:—

In the time of Malcolm, the third Chief of Macleod, the lands of Luskintyre were possessed by two brothers, who were

at mortal feud with each other. Their cattle were herded in common, under the charge of a man named Lurran "Casluineach," or swift-footed, whose mother had nursed one of the above brothers, and was considered a witch, and resided with her son in a small cottage near her foster-son's house. Lurran folded the cows every night in Buaile Rossinish, where, during the harvest season, it was customary to have them watched. On the first night of their being folded there for the season it was Lurran's turn to watch, and as the place was considered the resort of fairies, Lurran's mother took the precaution to charm all her foster son's cows, as well as her son Lurran, on whom she uttered a spell, proof even against the Devil himself. About midnight Lurran saw the "Bruthach," or mound, open, and an immense concourse of people issue from it; they proceeded towards the fold, where they began to converse and examine the cattle. They found the cows of one brother all charmed, but those of the other were not so fortunate. They immediately killed two of the best and fattest of the cattle, and carried away the carcases, leaving in their places the hides filled with froth and slime, resembling bad carrion. In the morning the two cows were found dead, conjectured to have been killed by lightning, but the same thing occurred for several nights, and always the cows of the same brother, but none of those who watched had the supernatural power of seeing the fairies except Lurran, who kept the matter a secret from all but his mother. When it came again to his turn to watch the fold, the fairies came as usual, killed the cattle, and carried them off, but Lurran joined the crowd, and entered the "Bruthach" amonst them unobserved. There he saw a spacious hall, in which was prepared a feast, of which all partook, and Lurran took care to seat himself next to the door. After the feast, wine was handed round in a beautiful silver cup, out of which each drank, and then handed it to his neighbour. At last it came to Lurran's turn, who, having hastily thrown down the contents, made a rush for the door and escaped, carrying the cup with him, before the company were aware what he was doing.

He was, however, hotly pursued, and narrowly escaped by entering his mother's hut, which she immediately charmed, so as to prevent the ingress of any good or evil spirits.

Lurran was, however, shortly afterwards found dead on the mountains, having been, it is supposed, killed by the fairies for stealing the cup. The cup was given by the mother to her "dalt," or foster-son, who was named Neil "Glun-Dubh," and

who was soon after murdered by his brother, who seized the cup as well as all the rest of his property.

Malcolm Macleod, the third Chief, hearing of this outrage, summoned the brother to Rodel, where he was first emasculated and then put to death, and the cup was taken by the Chief to Dunvegan, where it has remained ever since.

Another tradition says that the son of one of the above-mentioned brothers having been insulted by Magnus, fifth son of Malcolm Macleod, the Chief rose hurriedly from an entertainment to which he had been invited at the Chief's castle at Rodel, muttering revenge. Magnus Macleod heard him, and, springing to the door, opposed his exit, when the offended vassal drew his dirk and pierced to the heart the Chief's son, who expired on the spot. A rush was made by the company to seize the murderer, who, however, gained the summit of a rock, still pointed out, and from thence shot the twelve arrows which his quiver contained, and with each shot laid one of Macleod's followers prostrate. The unfortunate rebel was then seized and flayed alive; all his kindred were outlawed or slain, and their property was confiscated to the Chief, who, it is said, then took this cup to Dunvegan, where it has since remained.

An old man who was half a savage, whose garb was made up of sheep-skins, who was called "Iain Dubh nam Beann, and died about 1765, was considered the last of this family. He used to recite the names of all his ancestors to the very man who killed the third Chief's son.

His family belonged to the Clan Mhic Vurchie, who possessed part of Harris, and the place where their house stood at Luskintyre was well known. Some years ago, after a severe storm, the sand drift, which had for ages concealed them from view, was blown away and exposed the walls, which were still quite entire, and also a number of earthen utensils then made use of by the islanders. The sons of William Macleod, last of Luskintyre [my informant's great-grandfather], who were then boys, while playing among these ruins, found a brass sword, a steel dirk of beautiful workmanship, and a brooch used for fastening the shoulder plaid. No doubt the articles were left by the last occupiers of the dwelling in the hurry of their flight, or when overtaken by those who were sent to extirpate the race and seize their property after the death of the Chief's son as above stated.

THE REAL HISTORY OF RORY MOR'S CUP.

Sir Walter Scott, who gives a very detailed description of the famous cup in one of his notes to the "Lords of the Isles," says that a Latin inscription which is upon it may run thus:—

"Ufo Johannis Mich Magni principis de Hr Manae Vich Liahia Magryneil et sperat Domino Jhesu dari clementiam illorum opera. Fecit Anno Domini 993, Onili Oim."

Which, Sir Walter continues, may read in English—

"Ufo, the son of John, the son of Magnus, Prince of Man, the grandson of Liahia Mac Gryneil, trusts in the Lord Jesus that their works will obtain mercy. Oneil Oimi made this in the year of God nine hundred and ninety-three."

This is not a tradition, but a misreading. The inscription on the cup is in two divisions or compartments, round the rim, and the mistake that Sir Walter Scott and others made was to read it across as if it were written right round it, or in a single column. This, of course made nonsense of the inscription, and added five hundred years to the age of the cup. The late Dr W. F. Skene, in a foot-note, "Celtic Scotland," vol. iii., p. 356, says that the correct reading, in two divisions, is as follows:—

"Katharina Nigryneill uxor Johannis Meguigir principis de Fermanac me fieri fecit Anno Domini 1493. Oculi omnium in te sperant Domine et tu das escam illorum in tempore opportuno."

That is—

"Katharine MacRannal, wife of John Macguire, Lord of Fermanagh, caused me to be made in the year of our Lord 1493. The eyes of all hope in Thee, O Lord, and Thou givest them food in due season."

Sir Walter Scott's description of the cup and its ornamentation may be given. He says, in the note already quoted:—

"This very curious piece of antiquity is nine inches and three-quarters in inside depth, and ten and a half in height on the outside, the extreme measure over the lips being four inches and a half. The cup is divided into two parts by a wrought ledge, beautifully ornamented, about three-fourths of an inch in breadth. Beneath this ledge the shape of the cup is rounded

off, and terminates in a flat circle, like that of a tea-cup; four short feet support the whole. Above the projecting ledge the shape of the cup is nearly square, projecting outward at the brim. The cup is made of wood (oak to all appearance), but most curiously wrought and embossed with silver work, which projects from the vessel. There are a number of regular projecting sockets, which appear to have been set with stones; two or three of them still hold pieces of coral, the rest are empty. At the four corners of the projecting ledge, or cornice, are four sockets, much larger, probably for pebbles or precious stones. The workmanship of the silver is extremely elegant, and appears to have been highly gilded. The ledge, brim, and legs of the cup are of silver."

RORY MOR'S HORN.

Care must be taken not to confound Rory Mor's Cup with Rory Mor's Horn. The latter is devoid of any ornamentation, except a broad rim of silver fixed round its edge, neatly carved and chased. It is said that each Chief, as he came of age, had to drink off its full contents in one draught in proof of his manhood. Referring to it in one of his songs, Burns says—

"I'll conjure the ghost of the great Rory Mòr,
And bumper his horn to him twenty times o'er."

And Johnson, in his "Tour to the Hebrides," says—

"Here we saw some traces of former manners, and heard some standing traditions. In the house is kept an ox's horn, hollowed so as to hold perhaps two quarts, which the heir of Macleod was expected to swallow at one draught, as a test of his manhood, before he was permitted to bear arms, or could claim a seat among the men."

Dr Johnson, like others who have written on the same subject, is wrong regarding the size of the horn. Meeting Macleod of Macleod while he was attending the meeting of the Inverness-shire County Council a fortnight ago, I asked him to oblige me by testing the capacity of the famous horn, and letting me know what it was exactly. He courteously undertook to do so, and on his return to Dunvegan a few days later, he promptly implemented his promise and wrote me a letter, in the course of which he says:—"Rory Mòr's horn contains an imperial quart comfortably, i.e., without being quite up to the brim."

LADY GRANGE'S FUNERAL EXPENSES.

In the same communication, he sent me a copy of a most interesting document, which he found recently while looking through some of the Macleod family papers. It is the receipt for the funeral expenses, and the board during the last nine months of her life, of the unfortunate Lady Grange. An accurate account of her abduction, some of the persons concerned in it, and her after experiences at Castle Tioram, and in the islands of Heisker, Iona, and Skye, appear in my histories of the Macleods and of the Frasers, in the former of which it is shown that she died at Idrigill, in Waternish, Isle of Skye, in May, 1745, and was secretly buried at Trumpan, while a sham funeral was carried through, with great formality, in the Churchyard of Duirinish in the same parish. The following is an exact copy of the account sent me by Macleod, who points out that the names "Macleod" and "Macneill" are each spelt in two different ways:—

"Account curt. the Honble. Norman MacLeod and Rory MacNiell of Trumpan.

Debit MacLeod.				*Cr.*			
To one particular account of expenses in Lady Grange's interment, etc.	£30	15	05	By Cash from M'Leod per receipt	£10	00	00
Do., her board for nine months is	22	10	00	By do. from Wm. Tolme upon MacLeod's account	21	16	03
				By Macleod's order upon Bayforth's balance being	21	09	02
	£53	5	05		£53	05	05

"Dunvegan 16th August, 1745.

"The above Account is fitted and cleared 'twixt us, errors and omissions excepted, by

(Signed) "RORY MCNEILL."

UNPUBLISHED MACLEOD TRADITIONS.

Leod, progenitor of the Macleods, is said to have had two other sons besides Tormoid and Torquil mentioned in the History, viz.:—3, Ian, or John, who followed Bruce to Ireland, where he settled; for we find that Maurice, second Lord Fitzmaurice, married Mary, daughter of Sir John Macleod of Galway, Chief of his name in those parts, where his kindred were called McElligath, quartered the arms of Macleod, and of whom

the present Marquis of Lansdowne is the representative. 4, Olaus, or Olaf, who is said to have had a son Lewis, reputed to have been the founder of the Clan Mhic Lewis, or Fullarton.

Tormoid, second Chief of Macleod, was a great soldier, and is said to have fought at Bannockburn. He was Sheriff of Skye, and was remarkable for a fine beard, which was so long that he could tuck it into his girdle. He married Marjorie, daughter of John Bisset of Glenelg, by whom he is said to have had, besides Malcolm, his heir, 2, Leod, who is said to have gone to Ireland, and there d. s. p.; and 3, Godfrey, who became a monk, and died abroad. Malcolm, the third Chief, although said by some to have married the daughter of Fraser, Lord Lovat, is believed to have married Christian, the divorced wife of Hugh Fraser of Lovat, and daughter of Sir Neil Campbell of Lochow, ancestor of the Duke of Argyll. He was a man of great courage and physical strength, and the story goes that while returning from a stolen interview with the young and beautiful wife of the Chief of the Frasers, who held the half of Glenelg, he encountered and killed a wild bull which infested the woods of Glenelg, and was a terror to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. Malcolm, when he engaged the animal, was only armed with his dirk, but seizing the bull by its horns, he by sheer strength threw it, and then despatched it with his weapon. From this encounter the bull's head is said to have become the crest of the Macleods, with the motto, "Hold Fast." In the struggle one of the bull's horns was broken off; this Malcolm carried home as a trophy of his prowess, and it is said to be the same which was converted into the drinking horn now known as Sir Rory Mòr's horn.

The lady with whom Malcolm was in love was so pleased with his valour that she forsook her husband for her lover, subsequently married him, and bore him five sons, viz.:—1, John, who became the fourth Chief; 2, Tormoid, mentioned in the History as the first Macleod of Bernera, from whom the island was taken by Sir Rory Mòr Macleod, on account of a dreadful feud in the family, and given to Sir Norman as his patrimony; 3, Murdo, mentioned in the History as the ancestor of the Macleods of Gesto, of whom the head was called Mac Mhic Thormoid, who had a son called Tormoid Caol Macleod, who killed Alastair Carrach Macdonald; 4, Malcolm Og, who is said to have settled in Argyll, the country of his mother, who, as already stated, was a Campbell, and to have become the ancestor of the MacCallums or Malcolms; 5, Magnus, of whose

death see account already given of the ancient cup. The first feuds in which the Macleods were engaged were with the Frasers, owing to the liason of Fraser's wife with their Chief, Malcolm. These feuds continued for several generations with great fury, but were finally ended by a compact, whereby the Macleods received the remainder of Glenelg as a marriage portion with the daughter of Fraser of Lovat.

Shortly after Malcolm Macleod had carried off the wife of Fraser of Glenelg, the Clan Fraser resolved on revenge, and to effect this a large force was collected in Glenelg, who, after committing every outrage on the Macleods of that barony, proceeded to Skye, where they met with no resistance until they reached the water of Drynoch, where the Macleods had hastily collected, under the command of Iain Ciar, a bastard brother of Macleod of Macleod, who, as well as most other persons of note on his side, was slain, and the remainder were put to flight.

Malcolm Macleod himself was at the time at Pabbay, in Harris, whither a swift-sailing galley was despatched with the sad tidings; he immediately collected all the forces available, and, landing in Troterness, was joined there by several others of his vassals. The Frasers in the meantime had laid waste Minginish and Bracadale, carrying off the cattle and spoil of the vanquished.

Meanwhile a foster brother of Malcolm (the first of that name who is mentioned, viz., William Mackaskill) had been left Seneschal of Dunvegan, collected a select body of men, amongst whom were his six younger brothers, and they resolved to rescue the spoil of the Macleods from the Frasers, or perish in the attempt. They took up their position in a wood above Broadford, on the direct road through which the Frasers had to pass. The Frasers, completely off their guard, were suddenly attacked, and their leader being slain, were thrown into inextricable confusion. The greater portion of them were killed, and the whole of the booty was recovered by Mackaskill, who was joined by his Chief just as the fight was finished. Malcolm Macleod died in 1375, at Stornoway, while visiting the Chief of Lewis.

The Mackaskills were for several generations the Lieutenants of the Macleods, both by sea and land, and held large possessions from the Chiefs as commanders of their galleys or birlinns, and one of them always accompanied the Chief as his henchman, clad in full armour.

John Macleod, commonly called "Iain Ciar," succeeded his

father as fourth Chief. He received a charter from King Robert II. of Troterness and all his other lands in Skye. The Macleods of Lewis had at this time possessed themselves of the east side of Troterness, which was exchanged by Iain Ciar for Vaternish, a part of Skye, which continued in the possession of the Macleods of Lewis until the ruin of that family in the reign of James VI.

Iain Ciar is said to have been a most tyrannical and blood-thirsty despot, equally feared and hated by all his vassals, and even by the members of his own family. His wife appears to have been as cruel as her husband, for tradition says that she ordered two of her daughters to be buried alive in a dungeon in the Castle of Dunvegan, for having attempted to escape from her tyranny with two lovers of the name of Macqueen, who then possessed Raasay under the Abbots of Iona. The two brothers were seized, and after being emasculated were flogged to death, and their bodies were thrown into the sea.

John Macleod, fourth Chief, who married a daughter of O'Neil, had, besides four daughters, 1, Malcolm, who appears to have inherited much of the bad qualities of both his parents. His career was, however, short, for he was slain by the brother of his intended bride in a quarrel at a feast in Lewis, where he had gone to espouse the daughter of his kinsman, Macleod of Lewis. This fact gave rise to various feuds, which lasted for a long time, between the two great families of Macleod.

John Ciar once went to Harris to be present at a deer hunt, and, according to the usage of those times, was accompanied by the chief-man of his clan. The "frith," or chase, of Harris had formerly belonged to, and was still partly held by, the Clan Mhic Ceathach, or "Children of the Mist," who paid tribute to Macleod, and the son of their Chief accompanied Macleod to the hunt. When the deer were collected in the valley, within view of the Chief, he missed a favourite white hart, which he valued highly from its singularity of colour, and declared he would be amply revenged upon its destroyer, at the same time offering a large reward to any one who would discover the offender. An enemy of Mac Ceathach pointed to the young man, who was immediately seized by order of the Chief, and at once put to death in a cruel and barbarous manner, by having the antler of a large stag forced into his bowels. The sport, however, continued, and ended as usual, after which Macleod returned to Rodel, with the view of sailing to Dunvegan, where he then usually resided.

The galleys were ready to sail, the wind was favourable, and all was prepared, when the Chief, accompanied by his wife and followers moved from his dwelling at Rodel to the place of embarkation. As he was stepping into his ship, an arrow whizzed through the air, pierced his side, and at the same time the war cry of the Mac Ceathachs announced their approach. The Macleods were wholly off their guard, but made a stand round their fallen Chief, and by the heroic valour of William, the Chief's second son, the "Children of the Mist" were driven to the mountains, not, however, before several of the principal men of the Macleods had been slain. Lady Macleod had in the meantime gained one of the galleys, when her women, in their alarm, cut the cables and let the vessel drift out to sea. A storm followed, in which she, and two of the natural daughters of the Chief, who had accompanied her, perished, being driven on to some rocks at Idrigill, on the west of Skye, which have ever since been called Macleod's Wife and Maidens. The largest of these rocks is over 200 feet high, and is called "Nic Cleosgeir Mòr;" the others are about 100 feet high. The Chief was carried to the Monastery of Rodel, where he died the same evening, and his body was taken to Iona for burial. His eldest daughter married Lachlan Maclean of Duart. His second married Cameron of Lochiel.

Macdonald, Lord of the Isles, laid claim to a part of Macleod's lands in Skye, as a marriage portion of his wife, Margaret Leslie, but their claim William Macleod by no means acknowledged; so Macdonald invaded his territory. The Macdonalds were commanded by Alastair Carrach (brother of the Lord of the Isles), who was slain in this conflict by Tormoid Caol Macleod, the cousin of William, fifth Chief (being the son of Murdo Macleod, the Chief's uncle). Very few of the Macdonalds escaped, as their galleys were taken in Loch Eynort by Mackaskill, who put every soul on board to death, and carried their heads to Dunvegan.

William, the fifth Chief of Macleod, was much beloved by his clan for his valour and for his sense of justice; he was remarkably handsome, of talents and information far beyond his age, and made a great figure among his countrymen.

He married Janet, daughter of Ogilvie (?), and had issue—1, John, his heir; 2, Tormoid, who had a son—1, William, from whom are descended the sept called Clann Mac Mhic Uilleam, of whom were the family of Borline, a member of which was Captain William Macleod, of the 73rd Regiment, who died at

Tranguebar, and whose son was the late General William Comperno Macleod, and another member of which was General Norman Macleod, of the 1st (Royal Scots) Regiment, who was lost in the wreck of a steamer in 1840, and who was first cousin of Captain William Macleod. 2, Alexander, whose daughter was the famous poetess, "Mairi Nighean Alastair Ruaidh," and of whom were descended the sept called Clann Mac Mhic Alastair Ruaidh, of whom were the family of Ballimore and of St Kilda, a member of which was Dr John Macleod, who was Inspector-General of Army Hospitals in Madras, and of which several members settled in America, while many were to be found in Waternish. William Macleod died suddenly at the Castle of Camus, in Sleat, in 1405, and was buried in Iona.

John Macleod, the sixth Chief, was known to the islanders by the name of Iain Borb (fierce). He was scarcely ten years old when his father died, and as a clan in those days could not exist without a Chief being able to lead them to battle, a Regent for the minority was always chosen by the clan, and called "Taoitear," or guardian. This office was conferred on John Macleod (a cousin of the Chief), who, from his imbecility and worthlessness, got the name of "Mi-Shealbhach," or "the Unlucky." He held the office of "Taoitear," or guardian, for six years, and during that period the Macleods of Skye and Harris met with many disasters, and were much reduced.

The election of John "Mi-Shealbhach" as guardian was highly displeasing to many of the clan, who wished to confer the dignity on Tormoid Caol, who slew Alastair Carrach Macdonald at the battle of Sligachan. Tormoid Caol seized the Macleod's portion of Glenelg, and disobeyed the Regent. The Lord of the Isles had given a grant of the lands of Uist, Harris, and a great part of Skye to his eldest son, Reginald, by the daughter of MacRuarie of Garmoran, who was set aside to make way for Donald, his eldest son by Margaret Stewart, daughter of Robert III., King of Scotland, and it was in virtue of these grants that the Macdonalds sought to seize the property of the Macleods during the minority of the Chief. They landed in Sleat, and took possession of the Castles of Dunskavaig and Camus, and drove out the Macleods. A great part of North Uist,, which pertained to Harris, was wrested from the clan, and a battle was fought at Caolas Uist between the Macleods and Clan Donald, where the Macleods were totally defeated, their leader slain, and their birlinns taken. Iain Mi-Shealbhach shut himself up in the Castle of Pabbay, where he remained during the greater part of his Regency.

Torquil Macleod of the Lewis, then the most powerful of all the Chiefs in the Isles next to Donald, Lord of the Isles, collected his clan and came to the relief of the widow of William Macleod, fifth Chief, who was besieged in the Castle of Dunvegan by the Macdonalds. Torquil fought the Macdonalds at Feorlig, where he gained a complete victory over them, and after forcing the enemy to take to their boats, he carried off the widow of the late Chief of Macleod and her family to Lewis, where they remained until John Borb attained his sixteenth year, when he was installed, at Rodel, as Chief of his clan, when Torquil Macleod put his father's sword into his hand.

The first act of John's Chiefship was to punish Iain Mi-Shealbhach, who was hanged to the yard-arm of a birlinn at Rodel. His property was confiscated, and his family banished for ever. Torquil Caol gave in his submission, and all the refractory chieftains made their peace with John Macleod. He then sailed with a large fleet of galleys to Isla, and by the intercession of his uncle, Maclean of Duart, made friends with Donald, Lord of the Isles, who, in order to secure the aid of the Macleods, obliged the Macdonalds to give up all the lands which had been seized from the Macleods during John's minority, with the exception of the part of Uist next to Harris, which was given to a bastard brother of the Lord of the Isles, who afterwards married the widow of Tormoid Caol Macleod, a daughter of Maclean of Lochbuy. The island of St Kilda, which belonged to that part of Uist, was, however, given up to Macleod, and remained afterwards an appanage of Harris. John Macleod was the first Chief who fought under the banners of Macdonald, Lord of the Isles, for he commanded all the Macleods, both Siol Tormoid and Siol Torquil, at the battle of Garrioch or Harlaw, but, it is said, refused to draw a sword unless he with his clan got the right of the line, which the Lord of the Isles yielded to him. In this engagement John Macleod behaved most gallantly, and received a severe wound in the forehead, which never healed, but used to burst out bleeding whenever he was excited by passion or violent exercise, and which was ultimately the cause of his death.

In the time of John Borb the Macleods of Harris and Lewis joined Donald Balloch, cousin-german of Alexander, Lord of the Isles, when he fought against King James at Lochaber in 1431. They were commanded by Torquil Macleod of Lewis, as John Borb had sent his forces under his Lieutenant, Allan Mackaskill.

John Borb generally resided at the Castle of Pabbay, which

he had enlarged and strengthened. He was still in the prime of life, and, being one of the best swordsmen of the day, he used to fence with some of his family for the purpose of pastime, as well as for keeping up his skill. His foster-brother, Somerled MacCombich, was his most usual antagonist, and was rather the better swordsman of the two. The Chief did not by any means like this superiority, and frequently became angry if the other showed more skill than himself. On one of these occasions Somerled did not yield as much as usual, when the Chief flew into a passion, and cut and thrust with the view of something more serious than pastime. MacCombich could not yield with safety to himself, and would rather have died than injure his Chief and protector, so he threw himself on the Chief, who fell in the struggle, and was kept down by MacCombich, who called to some of the guards to rescue him. John's wound burst out, bleeding with such violence that it could not be stopped. Galleys were despatched for a leech, but before his arrival John had expired. This happened about 1442.

William Macleod, one of the twin sons of John "Borb," who succeeded his father as seventh Chief, was called "Claidheamh Fada," or "Long-sword." In his time the men of the Highlands and Isles were much divided in opinion between the claims of John, Lord of the Isles, and his son Angus, but William Macleod supported John, while the Macleods of Lewis espoused the other side. William was killed at the battle of the Bloody Bay, in 1480, and after his death the Macleods began to give way and fall into confusion, when, it is said, Callum Cleireach, Macleod's almoner, induced Murcha Breac, the keeper of the Fairy Flag, to unfurl the sacred banner. The Lewis Macleods, at the sight of the emblem of their race, joined the Harris Macleods, who renewed the fight with redoubled fury, but it was then too late. A vast number of Macleods were slain in this engagement, and among them were the twelve heroes who stood round the sacred banner. Murcha Breac was mortally wounded in the side by a lance, and finding himself falling, he thrust the staff of the banner into the wound, and thus kept the flag flying until others came to protect it. William was buried at Iona, and was the last Chief of Macleods interred there, and Murcha Breac was placed in the same grave with his Chief, as the greatest honour that could be bestowed on his remains.

Alexander Macleod, who was well known as "Alastair Crotach," or "Hump-backed," on the death of his father, was acknowledged by the clan as their Chief. He had already dis-

tinguished himself by his valour, and is said to have been learned for the age. During the time of the seventh Chief, a large party of Macdonalds landed at Ardiveg, in Skye, with the view of laying waste the country of the Macleods, and were commanded by Eachainn MacDhòmhnuill, son of the Chief of Clan Ranald. William Macleod was absent from home, but his son, Alexander, hastily collected all the men he could, and went to meet the Macdonalds, who had encamped close to their galleys. A fierce battle ensued, in which Alexander Macleod was wounded in the back by the stroke of the battle-axe wielded by Eachainn MacDòmhnuill, who had singled out the young Chief for combat. Alexander fell, but drew his antagonist along with him, and slew him with his dirk, and carried off his head as a trophy of his prowess. The stroke, however, which he had himself received had severed the dorsal muscles, and as his wound was not properly attended to, it caused his back to bend, and hence he obtained the name "Crotach." In this engagement the Macdonalds were completely routed, and lost the greater part of their men and ten of their lymphads, or galleys. Heaps of their bones and skulls were until lately, and are perhaps still, to be seen on the field where the action took place.

At another time, after Alastair Crotach had become Chief, the Macleods, both of Lewis and Harris, collected their forces with a view of invading the lands of the Macdonalds, but the latter, under the command of Donald Gruamach, landed in Skye with a force superior in numbers to any that the Macleods could collect, and laid waste Minginish, Bracadale, and Durinish to the very gates of Dunvegan. Alastair Crotach hastened from Harris, and landed at Glendale, where the Macdonalds met him.

The Macleods drew up on the brow of a hill, with a river in front, which made it difficult for the Macdonalds to attack them. There they remained for two days, until the arrival of a great body of the clan, under the command of Donald Mòr of Meidle, who was a bastard brother of Alastair Crotach. A fierce engagement ensued, in which the Macleods were sorely pressed. Donald Mòr was slain, with several hundreds of the clan; the rest were dispirited and wavering, when, it is said, the Wizard Flag was displayed in the midst of the Macleods by order of Alastair Crotach's mother, who was present. The combat was renewed with redoubled fury and immense slaughter on both sides. A party of the Macdonalds, under the command of Allan of Moidart, rushed into the midst of the Macleods, and cut off from the rest of the clan the Chief and the select band who

guarded the banner. At this moment Muracha or Murdo Mackaskill cut down Donald Gruamach, and, carrying his head on a spear, ordered the pipers of the Macleods to play the Macdonald's Lament. The sound of the ill-omened music struck a panic into the Macdonalds, who gave way on all sides. Allan of Moidart did all he could to rally them, but in vain, and such was the slaughter, says the "Seanachies," that the ravens which stood on "Creggan na Fitheach" (as a rock on the field of battle was afterwards called) drank the blood and ate the flesh of the Macdonalds, who lay in heaps around, without descending from their elevation. Allan of Moidart engaged Mackaskill single-handed, and killed him, as well as his three brothers, and then retreated with the remnant of his followers to Loch Eynort, where their galleys awaited them.

The most fierce and savage warfare was carried on by the clans against each other, and none more so than those between the Macleods and Macdonalds, especially of Moidart (the Clan Ranald). Every species of revolting cruelty was practised by both parties against the followers and friends of the other, nor was it possible for any of the vassals to meet without coming to blows.

On one occasion a large boat or galley was driven into Loch Stockinish, in Harris, and the crew of twenty-four men were received with apparent hospitality by one Alastair Dubh Macleod, who lived there. Whilst at supper, one of the men happened to reveal their names to be Macdonald, and, as they were of the Clan Ranald, Alastair Dubh left the house unobserved, and set fire to their boat and let it drift out to sea. He then roused out of their beds six other men who lived near him, and returning with them to his house, he told the Macdonalds to depart, for, as a vassal of Macleod, he could not harbour them. They rose to depart, but the door was so low and narrow that only one could pass out at a time, and Alastair Dubh's men, who were stationed on each side of the door outside, despatched with their battle-axes each Macdonald as he left the house. Their heads were cut off, the whole strung on to one rope, and thus carried to Donald Breac Macleod, who was Steward of Harris for Alastair Crotach, and their bodies were thrown under a rock, where their bones long remained exposed to view. Alastair Dubh got the name of "Alastair Dubh nan Ceann" from this barbarous act. Several of his descendants were to be found in Lewis and Harris.

This act was shortly afterwards retaliated by the Macdonalds, who seized a birlinn belonging to Alastair Crotach, in

which were a cousin of the Chief, called Donald Glas, together with 36 of his men, and they were taken to Ardvullin, in South Uist, where Donald Glas was put in irons, with a heavy weight attached to a chain round his neck, and was so detained for six years, whereby he was disabled for ever after; the whole of his crew were starved to death in a dungeon, where, it is said, they actually ate one another, casting lots so long as more than one remained alive.

When King James approached Skye, in 1540, Alastair Crotach retired to the Castle of Pabbay, Harris, where he remained until the King's departure.

It is said that Alastair Crotach, several years before his death, resigned nearly all his authority to his son, William, who was anxious to secure, if possible, the succession to his daughter, Mary, and her children, to the prejudice of his two brothers, Donald Glas and Tormoid, to both of whom he behaved unkindly. Donald went as an adventurer to Ireland, and Tormoid entered the service of the King of France, where he obtained a distinguished command, and continued to reside with his family for many years, until circumstances, to be related hereafter, induced him to return home.

On the birth of Mary's son, Dugald, a fleet of galleys was despatched by William Macleod to Argyleshire to convey her and her child, as well as her husband, to Dunvegan, where they were all received by the whole clan in great state.

He gave the estate of Harris to his daughter and her husband for their maintenance during his own life, and made his daughter give up her rights in favour of her son, retaining only Harris as her dower or portion during her own life.

Mary and her husband, Duncan Campbell, went to live in Harris for the remainder of the life of the latter, who, however, died many years before William Macleod.

Alastair Crotach, who was still living, could not tolerate the idea of the succession going to young Campbell, and endeavoured to prevail upon his sons, who were at enmity, to become friends, but without success; so, before his death, he named William his heir, and, failing his heirs, his second son, Donald, and, failing Donald's male heirs, his third son, Tormoid, and his heirs. This destination was only verbal, but in those days it was considered of equal validity to a written and formal instrument. Alastair Crotach, in the midst of their dissension, retired to Rodel, where he remained during the rest of his life, and died. This monastery had been founded at a very early period by the

monks of Iona, but had fallen into decay, and Alastair Crotach largely endowed it with land, in Harris, which it enjoyed until the Reformation, which did not extend to these parts until a century after the time of John Knox. He also repaired and completed the church, which is still extant, and has a tower covered with many ornaments of stone, similar to those found in other parts of Scotland, built in the reigns of James III., IV., and V., and is no bad specimen of the architectural skill of that age. He also built two other beautiful small churches, which are dependent on this monastery, one at Wia and the other at Scarpa, but both are now in ruins. He prepared a code of regulations for the college of pipers in Skye, to which he gave liberal grants of land, retained by them until the time of the seventeenth Chief.

Alastair Crotach's household was on a scale of great magnificence for the age and country, and he had several harpers, bard, and seanachie, and a bodyguard, whose duty it was to teach each man of the clan how to use the sword or the axe and targe. He was learned enough to translate into Gaelic some of the Psalms of David, which were afterwards published by the Rev. John Morrison, of Ness. On account of his prudence and sagacity, he was often made the arbitrator between the most powerful Chiefs of the Highlands and Isles in their feuds and quarrels. He was a brave soldier, and skilled in all the arms then in vogue. His broadsword or claymore, with which he performed many valiant deeds, few could now wield. He was accounted one of the best swordsmen of his time, and in his leisure hours he used to teach his young kinsmen the most approved modes of fencing, rewarding the best pupils with suits of armour and other prizes. He took great delight in the education of his grandson, who was afterwards the famous Rory Mòr, who always resided with him, and into whose mind he instilled his own good sense and many admirable qualities, which were then as rare as they were useful. Indeed, the latter years of Alastair Crotach's life were as useful and exemplary as his early days were turbulent and reckless.

His memory is still revered in the Isles as the friend of the poor, the rewarder of merit, and the best sample of a really great and good Chief.

Alastair Crotach did not marry until he was over 50 years of age, because during his mother's life he would not make any other woman mistress of his house. After her death he wanted to marry, but thought himself too old and ugly for any young

woman to accept, for although he was tall and strong, he had hard features and a forbidding aspect, and, as already stated, was bent in his back. Cameron of Lochiel, however, told him that he had ten daughters, of whom he might take his choice, but Alastair would not have any woman against her will. When the ladies were questioned, they all, from the first to the ninth, refused him, but the tenth, the handsomest of them all, said she preferred bravery, wisdom, and power to a smooth face without any other recommendation; so she accepted Alastair, and lived happily with him for a long time, and died an old woman long before he did, as he lived to be over 100 years old. Alastair Crotach died at Rodel, when, according to his own wish, he was buried by the side of his wife, whose virtues and good qualities were set out on her tombstone, in Latin, in the church there.

The first act of his successor, William Macleod, after his father's death, was to propose to the clan, who assembled at Rodel at the old Chief's funeral, to acknowledge Dugald Campbell as his heir and successor. Some of the clan agreed, but most of them refused to admit any right of succession through a female, a thing hitherto unknown amongst them. The meeting broke up, after a turbulent discussion, without coming to any definite decision, but William resolved to disinherit his brothers and to secure the succession to his grandson. He therefore gave the wardenship of Pabbay to Kenneth Campbell, and that of Dunvegan to Torquil Macsween, another of Campbell's adherents. He also put many Campbells into his "luchdtaighe," or bodyguard, and put trust only in those who declared in favour of his grandson. He also entered into an alliance with Donald Gorm Macdonald of Sleat, to whom he made over all his old rights to Sleat and Troterness for a sum of money, and appointed him the Taoitear of his grandson, in case of his own death before young Campbell came of age. He further accumulated a large sum of money, which he remitted before his death to his grandson, in Argyleshire, to enable him the better to secure the succession. These acts so completely alienated the affections of the clan from William that he shut himself up in the Castle of Dunvegan for the short remainder of his life, which he passed in gloom and solitude. He died in 1552-53, a few days after receiving the news of his daughter's death, which occurred at Barra on the very day that she was to embark for Dunvegan, whither her father had invited her on

the death of her second husband, Macneil. William Macleod's body was removed by the clan from Dunvegan to Rodel, where it was buried, and a monument was afterwards erected over his remains by his nephew, Sir Roderick (Rory Mòr) Macleod.

2nd DECEMBER, 1897.

At this meeting, Mr Duncan Cameron, general merchant, Muir of Ord, was elected an ordinary member of the Society. The paper for the evening was contributed by Mr A. Polson, teacher, Inverasdale, Poolewe, on the "Highland Folk-lore of Luck." Mr Polson's paper was as follows:—

THE HIGHLAND FOLK-LORE OF LUCK.

One has only to read any of the works on the folk-lore of any foreign country, or reside anywhere out of the Highlands for a year or two, to understand that Highlanders are certainly not a bit more superstitious than people elsewhere, and that what superstitious beliefgs they have, are on inquiry found to have arisen from some reasonable cause generally unknown to the sneering outsider. In adopting means to secure luck, it is believed that their customs are less stupid than those of so-called educated people who indulge in games of chance, and who, if they have perfected no 'system' by which to regulate their luck, then by means of charms, which may easily be bought for filthy lucre, they expect to propitiate the unknown and dreaded powers so that they may be favoured—at the expense of somebody else, of course. It is well known that in games of pure chance the proportion of the amount won altogether by one side of say two numerically equal sides of players is almost certain to be very nearly an equality in the long run, but before that long run comes it ought not to be forgotten that the last of the means of the apparently losing side may have gone, and then no way remains by which the losers may recoup themselves and the equality be restored; and ruin then comes, as it inevitably does to all gamblers, and hence the ardent desire to get in some way or other the balance of probability on their side at the beginning—in short, to load the dice. But Highlanders, in common with the vast majority of believers in luck, never think of it as coming within any mathematical or other law.

There is no doubt that very many Highlanders are fatalists, and when untoward events happen, their feeling, and indeed their language, is, 'It had to be,' and with this they console themselves, though, in justice to them, it must be said that in all their works the usual reasonable precautions are generally taken to prevent any undesirable untoward event; but when, in spite of all such precautions, the event nevertheless does prove adverse, or, on the other hand, has turned out more successfully than might reasonably be expected, then something has to be looked for to explain the matter, and any particular or peculiar circumstances in connection with the matter are looked for, and these circumstances are afterwards deemed lucky or unlucky, according to the outcome of the event with which they were first associated.

Many classes of persons and circumstances are, and always have been, deemed unlucky, not to one, but to everyone, while others are limited to a certain class. Thus it is always deemed unlucky to meet a flat-footed, red-haired woman as one sets out on a journey, while others as 'first-foot' or 'first-met' mean ill-luck only to certain of their enemies. Bulwer Lytton believed that he never did succeed at cards when a certain person of his acquaintance was on the same side, or even in the same room or house as he was when playing, while with others who were perfect strangers he felt that luck was with him. Perhaps such a belief might have been founded on something in such a man which irritated him, and so precluded his giving his undivided attention to the game. To such a person the character of being unlucky would easily come to be attributed. Again, there may be some historical reason for a belief. Thus it is considered unlucky for a Sinclair to leave Caithness on a Monday or in a green coat. The reason given for this is that it was on a Monday and in green coats that the Sinclairs crossed the Ord on their way to Flodden, whence only one returned.

For very obvious reasons luck is most sought for at the beginning of some period, as at the New Year, on entering on some new undertaking, at a marriage, or on setting out on an important journey, etc., and the precursors of success, as well as the means taken to secure luck, may be classified according to the occasion to which they refer.

Birth is a start in life, but the little one, in its utter helplessness, has happily not to run the gauntlet of so many unlucky omens as might be expected; indeed, the judgment of what success it may meet with in after life is, in the Highlands, in

great measure suspended for a time. Yet to bring the young one success in life, a spoon, made from the horn of a live animal, is considered one of the best possible charms. A very useful belief is that it is extremely lucky for friends or relatives to place silver on a child the first time they see it. This should also be held lucky for the parents at a time when naturally there must be some considerable drain on the family's resources. There may be some church reason—such as the bringing of recalcitrant parents under the power of the minister—for the notion that it is lucky to have a child baptized before the expiry of the year in which it was born, and it is considered extremely unlucky to have it deferred until the following year. This helps in another way, as the parents are the sooner at liberty to divulge the child's name, which it would be unlucky to do before the performance of that rite.

There are not, at least in the parts of the Highlands with which the writer is acquainted, any rhymes relating to lucky or unlucky birth-days. Thus, such a rhyme as the following is scarcely known:—

> "Sunday's child is full of grace,
> Monday's child is fair of face,
> Tuesday's child is solemn and sad,
> Wednesday's child is merry and glad,
> Thursday's child is inclined to thieving,
> Friday's child is free in giving,
> Saturday's child works hard for its living."

The belief that being born with a caul is lucky, and a sure preventive of death from drowning, is prevalent all over the Highlands, as indeed it seems to be all over the world, and has been for long ages, and we find St Chrysostom inveighs against this notion in several of his homilies. The belief now widely prevalent that it is lucky to carry the newly-born child 'up' rather than 'down,' and that it ought not to be weighed, must have been imported in quite modern times, as the houses in which the vast majority of Highlanders were born in the olden times had no stair by which they could carry it up, and they had few weighing machines.

Marriage is, as Shakespeare says, "That wild dedication of ourselves to unpathed waters, undreamed shores," and there are a large number of ways by which the happy pair may be made sure that thereafter on the voyage of life they will be fortunate. The almost universal notion that May is an unlucky month, and

June a lucky one, obtains in the north of Scotland, as it has done over a wide area, since Roman times; but in spite of the well-known rhyme which says—

> "Monday for wealth,
> Tuesday for health,
> Wednesday the best day of all,
> Thursday for crosses,
> Friday for losses,
> Saturday no day at all,"

and in spite of the widely-spread notion that Friday is an unlucky day on which to enter on any undertaking, it has for a long time been by far the most popular day for this purpose throughout the whole of Scotland. That the advent of Sunday may prevent the linked sweetness of the festivities being too long drawn out, and that a limit may be put to drawing too much on the resources of the donor of the feast; that a quiet time may be secured for the newly-married pair, as well as the allowing of a working man to get back to his work on the following Monday morning, may perhaps have, among a practical, canny people, something to do with this otherwise unpopular day. The City Chamberlain of Glasgow tells—"It is a well-established fact that nine-tenths of the marriages in Glasgow are celebrated on a Friday; only a few on Tuesday and Wednesday; Saturday and Monday are still more rarely adopted, and I have never heard of such a thing in Glasgow as a marriage on Sunday." Exactly the same may be said of the Highlands, and the proportion of happy marriages is as large there as elsewhere. In the Island of Lewis, however, Tuesdays and Thursdays seem to be the favourite days for the ceremony.

Before the marriage the bride must take care not to hear the publication of her own banns, else ill-luck will come to the offspring; and it is better, if luck would favour the festivities of the following day, that on the night before the wedding the bride and bridegroom be separated by running water. On the wedding day they should meet for the first time at the altar, and nothing could be more unlucky than to meet a funeral either in going or returning. On leaving the church, the procession should be preceded by a luck-insuring married couple, and this is even of more importance than the usual piper or fiddler. On their return home, bits of bread and cheese were dropped on the newly-married pair, and for this there was a scramble, as secur-

ing a piece was to secure a good-luck charm. If the marriage be celebrated in the house, it will the more certainly ensure the young pair good fortune if, for the first time they leave the house, they make their exit by different doors.

New-Year's Day is to most people "an imaginary milestone on the turnpike track of human life," and it has been said that the man who does not at least propose to himself to be better this year than he was last, must be either very good or vey bad indeed; and it might be added that the man or woman who does not desire even better luck than in any previous year must have reached a more enviable stage of contentment than any of those who practice any of the many rites for the procuring or foretelling of good luck which have grown up around the year's initial day. It is in the Highlands, as it evidently was in Ayr in the days of Burns, a happy belief that the cattle will have plenty to eat during the year if an extra sheaf of corn be given them on New Year's morning. It was the giving of this hansel of corn that inspired the poet's well-known address of praise to his mare Maggie. The Scandinavian peasants tie a sheaf to their house tops, that the birds also may have a feast at this season.

When the Highland home was cleaned out at Hogmanay—and the cleaning at that season can only be compared to a good modern Spring cleaning—the ill-luck of the past year was supposed to be driven out, and everything was ready for a fresh start; and to prevent the powers of evil again entering, first the Bible was placed above the door during the last hours of the year, and the cat kept inside, so that if by any mishap an unlucky first-foot should dare to enter in spite of this, the evil could be got rid of by throwing out the cat, for poor pussy was supposed to be able to carry out with it all the mischief which such a person was supposed to bring in. It is not so strange that a red-haired woman should be a most unlucky first-foot, as tradition has it that Judas, the traitor, had hair of this colour, but why a flat-footed woman should be considered to bring ill-luck has not been explained, and it is probably nothing more than a coincidence which makes it unlucky for anyone to meet such a person as he first sets out on any journey. It was also best that all the members of the family, old as well as young, should have something new to wear on that day. During the rest of the year it is best, if luck is to attend while it is being worn, that it be put on for the first time on a Sunday. In England, on the other hand, they deem it best to wear their

new clothes for the first time on Easter Day, and they have a rhyme which says—

"At Easter let your clothes be new,
Or else be sure you it will rue."

When one went out of doors on New-Year's morning, he took particular notice as to whether the face of the first young animal he saw was towards him, for if so he might surely expect to do well, but not otherwise.

The various ways by which Highland fishermen try to get fickle fortune to step their way formed the subject of a short paper of mine, read before the Society in 1892 (Transactions, Vol. xviii., p. 42), but the following beliefs, which are quietly entertained in some places, were not referred to then. It seems that if a fisherman, on setting out for his boat, met a man whose praenomen begins with the letter D, he may expect good fortune to attend him, but if it begins with a J, then the ill-luck which is about to come can be averted only by compelling the unlucky person to spit on the big sea-boots of the forthgoing fisherman. In this way, because of their name, or some circumstance connected with them, some get the name of lucky or unlucky persons unknown to themselves. Some such are deemed so unlucky that if a fisherman meets them even on his way to bark his nets, these very nets will catch little; and it is regarded as certain that his chances of success on that trip are small, if, on first setting out, anything dead be seen, for that is, as might be expected, a weight on smiling fortune; and, to fishermen generally, a cat as a first-foot means that danger, but no serious loss, will have to be reckoned with. It is a little surprising that among a people who esteem their ministers, as fishermen and Highlanders do, that for a fisherman to have a minister aboard is to invite the tempest. The explanation given in my previous paper seems still to be the generally received one. The Mosaic law, and perhaps general experience on the other hand, has had something to do with the belief that a bridegroom is not a lucky —perhaps not a helpful—companion at sea. The bad luck pertaining to any boat having a pig as a part of a cargo is explainable by the same Jewish law.

No matter what the purpose of a journey be, the almost universal idea that it is unlucky to turn back, or to see a hare not far from the start, is honestly held by people who might have been thought to be beyond that stage. A considerable number of the many charms or omens by which the luck that is

to be had on any particular journey is foreseen, is succinctly told in a paper read before the Society by Mr Mackenzie, secretary of the Crofter Commission (Transactions, Vol. xviii.).

A strange belief, which is now happily held by few, is that it is unlucky to receive back any goods which have once been stolen, and that a thief will be unlucky, and will probably go mad, if any one divulges the proof of his theft. One can only wonder whether such notions redound to the credit of Highlanders, as they have in all likelihood arisen from a notion of clannishness, and a desire to screen the guilty when plundering enemies, or practising for that purpose, and it was not desirable to cut short their career too early.

In comparing the folk-lore of luck, as that obtains in the Highlands, with the notions on the same subject held by the inhabitants of other countries, one cannot fail to be struck by the number which are common to many widely separated places, and even to peoples living in different ages. Such widely spread beliefs show that, as Sir Walter Scott says in his book on Demonology, that the influence of credulity is contagious, so that individuals will trust to the evidence of others in despite of their own senses; and Burton, in his "Anatomy of Melancholy," says that the idea of charms being of any avail was an exploded error, but further on, when he heard of the good effects produced by a charm, which consisted of a spider shut up in a hazel nut, he says—"I began to have a better opinion of it, and to give more credit to amulets, when I saw it in some parties answer to experience." In this way the incredulous are converted.

But lucky and unlucky omens may, and probably do, have an effect in another way. Is it not very likely that when a person has what he considers a lucky omen, he becomes possessed of that sprightliness, or verve, begotten of high hope, and works as a person expecting success does, and is therefore much more likely to obtain it, than another for whom a similar chance opens, but because something has happened which he reckons to have taken away his so-called luck, goes about the business with the half-heartedness which almost deserves, if it actually does not bring about, the evil fortune, which is then wrongly laid to the charge of the evil omens? Of such evil portends Highlanders have had plenty in the past, and therefore, if luck charms are to be believed in at all, would it not be best to multiply those which have an inspiring effect, and, if possible, diminish those which do the reverse?

16th DECEMBER, 1897.

At this meeting the following gentlemen were elected members of the Society :—Mr Alex. Walker, H.M. Chief Inspector of Schools, Aberdeen ; Mr Duncan Livingstone, Ohio, U.S.A.; Mr Donald Murray, commission agent, Inverness ; Mr David Gracie, excise officer, Inverness ; Mr John Young, of Messrs Young & Chapman, drapers, Inverness ; and Rev. Alex. Stuart, Daviot. Thereafter the Assistant Secretary read a paper contributed by Captain Douglas Wimberley, Inverness, entitled "Bighouse Papers," No. II. Captain Wimberley's paper was as follows :—

SELECTIONS FROM THE FAMILY PAPERS OF THE MACKAYS OF BIGHOUSE,

CONSISTING MAINLY OF LETTERS ADDRESSED TO JOHN CAMPBELL OF BARCALDINE, SOME TIME ONE OF THE GOVERNMENT FACTORS ON THE FORFEITED ESTATES AFTER THE '45.

NO. XXII.

LETTER from Lord Glenorchy to John Campbell of Barcaldine, docqueted, "Edr. 12 Augt., 1746—Letter Lord Glenorchie."

"Edr. 12th Aug. 1746.

"Sir,—Ld.'s Monzie and Tinwald told me they still wanted some Papers to be laid before them before they could determine in the submission refer'd to them. I believe they gave some directions to Lochlane to procure these papers. They are both gone out of Town.

"The prisoners in this Castle were sent to Carlisle some days ago, and this day those who arrived here from Perth on Saturday followed them. Tierndrishe sent a scheme to the Justice Clerk, which would be very good if practicable at present. It contained several articles: one of the most material was that all the Chiefs should swear to be faithful, and to keep their men so, to the Government: another article was that every chief should deliver up all the reputed thieves of his Clan, and if any Beast is stolen by any of his clan he shall be obliged to return it to the Chief of the Clan from whence it was taken and every chief should answer for the clan. You'll easily see that the nature and stile of it made it unfit for the Justice Clerk to send it to London.

"It gives really more power to the Chiefs, whereas Parliament wants to take their power away and even put an end to the very name of Chief.

"Macnachtane is left here for examination by the Justice Clerk, or was yesterday examined by him. He told me he had orders to examine him.

"I have spoke to Sheriff Miller about Keithock, and he says he'll serve him, he goes to Carlisle to manage the Trial of those sent from Scotland.

"The Earl of Albemarle is expected here in a week, all come away from Fort-Augustus but E. of Londoun with 20 Independent Companies. His Ldp. has taken up old Glengarry upon a complaint of Barrisdale, Lundie, Shian, Achtera, a cousin of - rdnabie, and two sons of Scotehouse, all M'Donalds, alledging that Glengarry got him partly perswaded and partly forced out. I suppose this is a Trick of Barrisdale to see what he can do with Ld. Albemarle, since he fail'd with the Duke.

"There has been no account for a long time of the young Pretender, the scent after him is entirely lost. Some think him dead by some way or other, others think he has got off in a vessel. I can't think him dead, it would certainly be known.

"I go to-morrow for London.—Adieu—Yours,

"GLENORCHY."

NOTES.—Lords Monzie and Tinwald were two of the Judges, the former one of the Campbells of Monzie, the latter Charles Areskine, appointed a Judge in 1744, and Lord Justice-Clerk from 1748 to 1763. The Lord Justice-Clerk in 1746 was Andrew Fletcher of Milton, who held that office from 1735 to 1748.

Tirindrish, Donald Macdonald, was executed at Carlisle on 18th October, 1746.

Macnachtane (see next letter).

Prince Charlie was about the time the above letter is dated in or near Strathglass and Glencannich, with Glenaladale and the Seven Men of Glenmoriston, or some of them; he did not embark for France till about 30th September.

NO. XXIII.

LETTER from Lord Glenorchy, to John Campbell of Barcaldine, docqueted "Point Pleasant, 14th October, 1746. Letter Lord Glenorchy":—

"Point Pleasant, 14th October, 1746.

"Sir,—I have now before me yours of the 18th, 25th, and 28th past. I'm obliged to you for your Intelligence, which I desire you to continue and let me know whenever anything particular occurs. I told the contents of your last to the D.

about the Pr's embarking on the 17th on board one of two ships. He said the account was more particular than any he had seen, but that he was inform'd one of the ships was only of 20 guns. He said he had not heard Ld. Lewis Gordon was gone with him, but that Lochiel's Uncle was gone, whom you did not mention; and he knew the story of Barrisdale being a Prisoner, which he said had very much disobliged Clanronald, tho' he went along with the rest for his safety.

"I know nothing of any general or particular scheme yet under consideration. The Prest. is often with the Ministers, but he does not seem satisfied; he goes in a few days to Edr. for the Session.

"I have not heard of any persons being accused by Murray, at least none are yet taken up.

"I believe Crosby, whom Johnie Bane carried to Perth, is hang'd there; he was found to have been originally in our army, and to have deserted to the French, where he was an officer. I see by the newspapers that Johnie's other prisoner, M'Nachtane, is condemned at Carlisle, and I think I read that a day was appointed for the execution of him and others. I suppose his being proved to have kill'd Gardener made it not proper to save him, or perhaps he would not tell. I am sure it was known here that he could make discoveries. Petitions have been presented from Kinlochmoidart and Tirndrishe, and great offers made by them. I believe 'tis not determined what is to be their fate, at least I know that two days ago it was not resolved. The Judges at Carlisle seem'd extremely pleased with Tirndrish's behaviour on his trial.

"I've had a letter from Kiethock, dated at Brampton, complaining of the expense of his long confinement, from which he was discharged, there being nothing against him. I believe a letter, which I mentioned to you in one of my letters, help'd to hasten it.

"The D. of Arg. has lately strain'd his best leg, which has confined him to his house; he is better.

"You'll see in the newspapers an account of a Battle in Flanders. Count Saxe laid a great scheme, much to his reputation, and endeavoured to execute it. As our army lay, the right wing cover'd Mastricht, and was so posted that he could not attack it with any advantage, tho' he was vastly superior in number. On our left were three villages, in which we had 2 British Battalions, 2 Hanoverian, and 2 Hessian. Count Saxe made his whole attack upon our left in different columns or bodies, of which one advanced as the former was repulsed. In

this manner he attacked these poor six Battalions with fifty-four Battalions. Our people defended themselves finely and repulsed the French very often, till overpower'd with numbers they were severely handled. Brigadier Douglas (the husband of Ly. Irwine) signalized himself in defending a Pass which the French could never force him from, till at last he retreated in good order. One Hanoverian Regt. and the Hessian Regt. which we saw exercise belonging to the old grey hair'd General Manspach, fought to the last and refused quarter from the French; of the Hanoverian Regt. there was but two or three officers left alive, and the Hessian Regt. lost six captains, and subalterns in proportion. The Dutch and two Battalions of Bavarians who had joined the army the day before, were in another part of the left wing, and lost above 1700 men. The British lost about 300, and the whole loss was something above 3000 men. Count Saxe imagined our right wing would be brought to support our left, which made him attack the left in columns in order to give time to our right to come up to them, and he had a Body of 10,000 Horse ready to cut immediately into the ground of our right wing and so to separate our army from Mastricht. His scheme was certainly very fine, and he executed everything finely for it. But Mareshal Bathiani perceived his design (by which he has gained great honour) and would not move a man of his right wing, so that Count Saxe was fairly bit. 'Tis true that Bathiani sacrificed the left wing, but he gained his point in securing Mastricht, which was of vast consequence. 'Tis said the French lost 10,000 men, amongst which were above 300 officers. One of their General Officers was killed. One of the Dutch Generals was killed and several wounded. The Dutch behaved well. The P. of Hesse behaved mighty well. The young Pr. of Issenberg, who was with the two Regts. at Sterling, is taken prisoner.

"George Haldane, Bathiani's aid de camp, is come to London with this account, the French finding they could not carry their point are moving into winter quarters, as is also the allied army, so all is over this year in Flanders. Count Saxe after the battle sent a great detachment into Provence to defend it from the troops in Italy, and another to Picardy to protect it against our fleet, which is said to have taken Port L'Orient where the French East India stores are. There are no direct accounts from Lestoch, but some letters from Paris say we have done them great mischief, and others say we did nothing but land and re-embark. I think the former account most likely.

"The Austrians lying on our right were not engaged.

"This is a particular account in return for yours, though the subject being at a greater distance is not so interesting. However, it gives pleasure to see that so vast a superiority of the French could do nothing but oblige us to retire after killing them above double the number of our slain. They have, indeed, taken some prisoners, but they are included in the 3000.

"The weather is still very fine, which invites us to stay a fortnight longer here, and then we shall go to town.—Adieu, yrs., "G———."

NOTE.—On the back of this is a memorandum as follows:—
"Dungallon.
"Glencairney.
"John Bane.
"Balleveolan and Corries.
"My three in the first."

NO. XXIV.

LETTER from Lord Glenorchy, to John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq., so addressed with the addition of "at Barcaldine, by Inverary," and docqueted "London, 3rd Feby. 1747, Lord *Breadalbane's* letter" [*sic*].

"London, 3rd Feby. 1747.

"Sir,—My last to you was (I think) of the 15th instant, and the next day I received yours of the 6th.

"When Castle Kelchern was mention'd to me, it was a sudden thought arising from what was accidentally said about it, and I soon after told D. A. that it would be inconvenient for me to part with it. But, on further consideration, I think there would be no harm in disposing of it. An excambion (as you very properly hint) would be the most desirable way of doing it, but in case the Government can't so easily take that method, the next best would be a tollerable sum equal to the value it is to me. One pretty strong argument for parting with it is, that whenever any troubles happen now or hereafter, it will certainly have a garrison put in it, since it is now known, and considering who spoke of it. In that case I should loose the advantage of it at the times when it would be most usefull, and temporary accidental garrisons are generally more hurtfull to the country and to the House than one always settled there. But possibly it may rest just as it is.

"I think your project of the road thro' Glen Lochy is preferable to that thro' Glenorchy, and a road striking off to Bunaw would be very proper.

"I have made the proper use of your note of the places commodious for garrisons, great and small. I find a dislike to the small bodies of troops, which makes me apprehend they will not be scatter'd enough to be of service against stealing. I believe there will be a camp at Fort-Augustus next summer.

"If you have ever heard the places where Oliver had garrisons, I wish you would let me know them. I have writt to the Earl to try if he remembers.

"How far is Achalador from Kinchlachan at the head of Loch Rannoch; and how far is it from Achtrichadan at the head of Glenco; does it lye near the great Muir which is between these two places?

"I know nothing yet of what is to be done about the forfeited estates. I believe that matter has not been thought up yet. Some proposal about taking away all private judicatures and establishing another method of executing the Laws is to be laid before the House of Lords very soon.

"As Drumd. of Cochoille and Calender are not attainted, I doubt if their estates will be forfeited. If they do not fall to the Crown, I'm thinking of proposing Gask's estates in place of them.

"I have spoke to the D. of Mountague about Ardchattan's brother. He said he does not remember of any vacancy of a Gunner's place in Scotland since he promised this to me, but would look into the books about it.

"I have likewise desired some who are with the D. to put him in mind of John Bane.

"His Royal Highness set out from hence on Sunday last at 4 in the morning for Holland, and hopes to get the troops early into the Field.

"Caroline Scot who defended Fort-William is made one of his Aid de Camps, and is gone with him. He was made Major in Guise's regiment before.

"The King has pardon'd all his subjects taken Prisoners in the Rebellion who are officers in the French Service on condition that they never carry arms against him in these Kingdoms, and the French King has set at liberty all the British Subjects that were taken up in France. An Exchange is now making off Prisoners, so that the three lads will be exchanged with the others.

"Affairs continue in Provence still the same, a body of about 6000 French and Spaniards attack'd 2000 Austrians at a small town, where they defended themselves for three hours and then retired, but lost considerably.

"I wish you could get Rt. Morison's brother to come to Taymouth, I mean he who refused the terms I offer'd him last year. Perhaps he may be more willing now. I leave it to you to make the bargain; and if you agree let Achalr. know it in time to provide a place for him and a croft.—Adieu, yrs.,

"G———.

"Just as I am finishing Sandie is come in, he looks vastly better than when I saw him at Taymouth, moves his arm bravely, and seems amazed with the beauty of the country he came thro'. He has explain'd the situation of Achalder perfectly to me, and I think it a very proper station for a party."

NOTE.—The "three lads" referred to as prisoners of war in France, no doubt included two nephews of Barcaldine's, whom Lord Glenorchy mentions in a "Menmorial for Barcaldine and Glenure" (which will be given below) as having distinguished themselves in a remarkable manner, and as "having been taken prisoners and sent into France for refusing to sign a parole not to carry arms against the Pretender, where they remained till the cartel was settled."

Caroline Scot, perhaps the officer called "Captain Scot," who, while in command at Braemar Castle in 1749, was particularly active in arresting persons wearing "dyed blankets" for wearing tartan. He had previously become notorious for executing vengeance on the Highlanders in the west of Inverness-shire.

"Sandie" was John Barcaldine's brother, Lieut. Alex. Campbell, of Loudoun's Highlanders, who was desperately wounded at Perth very shortly before the Battle of Culloden. See Letter No. XX.

Achalader, as mentioned above, was near Loch Tulla.

NO. XXV.

LETTER from Lord Glenorchy, to John Campbell of Barcaldine, the cover addressed "To John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq., to the care of the Chamberlain of Argyll at Inveraray," and docqueted "London, 3 March 1747, Lord *Breadalbane's* letter" [*sic*].

"London, 3rd March, 1747.

"Sir,—I have now before me yours of the 24th Jany. and the 14th Feby. I received the first soon after I had writt to you on the 1st Feby. The last came to hand some days ago with one enclosed for Pattie Ardchattan. I wrote a long time ago to Sr. John Ligonier recommending them to him that they

might be included in the Exchange of Prisoners which was then talked of, and I have had his answer telling me that he had sent money to all the Prisoners during the late Campaign, and that he would recommend the three lads to the Commissaries who are to regulate the Exchange. Captain George Haldane is to go over next week to be Aid de Camp again to Count Bathiani, and I will give him your letter for Pattie. I'm unwilling to send it by the Post for fear they should be come away from Lisle. I spoke some time ago to —r Hume, brother to the Commissary, who is gone abroad, and I desired him to write to his Brother about the £50 to know if it was paid. He told me yesterday that he had writt, but his Brother being moving from place to place upon the business of the Army, he had not yet got an answer from him.

"As to C—— K—— [Castle Kilchurn] I have not heard a word more about it. Whether it will drop or not I cannot tell. The D. of Argyll has been indisposed with an ague for a week past, but is now pretty well again.

"I don't know if I mention'd to you before that I had writt to the L-Chief Baron about a certain affair. He told Bank John that he had got a letter from me, and would remember the contents of it, and would soon write to me. I have spoke to the proper persons here, but they have not yet thought of that matter, nor determined how to turn it.

"Your last letter has cleared up to me the report spread here of some persons being landed from France. I mentioned the contents of your letter to some here who told me they had received much the same Information. I agree with you that 'twould be very right to have some care taken of the Education of the sons of the principal Rebels. I was sorry to hear that Lochiel's two sons had passed with their mother through this town to France by the way of Holland. They will certainly be bred up Jacobites and possibly Papists.

"Lovat's trial comes on next Thursday, having been put off 12 days upon his Petition, yesterday he petitioned again for more time, on pretence that his witnesses are not come up, but his agent being asked if a few days would be sufficient and if the evidences not arrived are material ones, the agent answer'd no, and insinuated that Lovat hoped the Lords would give him a considerable time, perhaps some weeks, upon which they rejected his Petition.

"A Bill is brought into Parliament for taking away all private Judicatures, and that no person shall have a power of

incarcerating any man except in the publick Prisons, All Sheriffs, hereditary or for life are to be taken away, and the Crown to appoint the Sheriffs and one Sheriff Depute who must be an advocate of a certain standing; and the Sheriffs may name more Deputes but must have the approbation of the Crown. Circuits are to be held twice a year in different places. Argyllshire is to be in the Circuit of Glasgow. The value of all the Judicatures is to be settled by the Lords of Session at Edr., and they are to be paid. There are many particulars in the Bill and many more wanting. I have writt to John Achalader that the Prison of Killin will make an excellent Cellar for the Change House.

"I ask'd Colonel Howard (whom you saw with Gen. Bland at Taymouth) who is just come from Carlisle, the truth of what I wrote to you about Kiethock's Imprudence. He told me that he is not acquainted with him, but that he knows he attended every execution in deep mourning, and show'd many marks of his concern and his disapprobation of their Punishment, and that Brigadier (or Major Genl.) Flemming, who commanded at that time at Carlisle, being inform'd of his appearing in solemn mourning at the first execution, sent him a private advice (purely out of good nature, being noways acquainted with him) not to do so again, and to be more cautious in his expressions, but he still persisted, and behav'd in general very improperly. This is what Col. Howard told me, and several particulars too tedious and not fit for a letter. I am really sorry for his folly.

"Your brother Sandy staid here a fortnight or more on his way to Bath, he looks well and has got Teeth set in so as to be very useful in eating. He went forward four days ago. He is trying to get James [?] Stronslanie's Company (who wants to be out) by either allowing James half-pay or buying the Company. I don't know if he'll succeed.

"E. Albemarle is going to Flanders, and Huske refuses to take the command, so 'tis thought Blakeney will have it, but not yet determined. Secretary Murray is to be evidence against Lovat. He would be evidence against several others, but there is not another witness against them.—Adieu. "G———.

"I have not seen anybody to ask about Allan, but I don't doubt he is well or we should have heard about it. Those Troops have been long expected from Ireland."

NOTES.—Patrick Campbell, Ardchattan, was a nephew of John of Barcaldine, and a subaltern in Loudoun's Highlanders. The proposed sale of Kilchurn to Government seems to have

been given up. "Bank John" was John Campbell, Cashier of the Royal Bank of Scotland. Of Lochiel's sons, John, the eldest, was a captain in his father's regiment, the "Regiment of Albany," and after his father's death in the "Royal Scots," both in the French service; but he returned to Scotland in 1759; James, another son, was also a captain in the last-named regiment, commanded by Lewis Drummond, and died in 1759. Two of Lochiel's daughters married French officers, and one died in a convent at Paris. Their mother was a daughter of Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck.

Keithock was a brother-in-law of John C. of Barcaldine, who married Keithock's sister: it was well for him that General Flemming was in command at Carlisle instead of Howard, who had the same reputation for barbarous severity as Caroline Scot.

Lord Albemarle and Huske both held high commands at the battle of Culloden. Lord Albemarle was in command of the first line; General Huske of the second; Flemming's Regt., the 35th, and Blakeney's, the 27th, were also present in the reserve line; and the 3rd Buffs, "Howard's," were there also, but possibly they took their name from another Col. Howard.

"Allan" was a brother of Barcaldine's. See note at end of No. XXVII.

NO. XXVI.

LETTER from Lord Glenorchy, to John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq., so addressed to him on cover, and "Care of the Chamberlain of Argyll at Inveraray," and docqueted "London, 19th March, 1747, Lord Glenorchy's Letter":—

"London, 19th March, 1747.

"Sir,—I have before me your two letters of the 21st Feby. and 7th March, the last of which had one enclosed from Baliveolan to his son. I gave it to —— Campbell, General Bland's aide de camp, who is gone this day for Holland, and will enquire if these lads are still at Lisle. Yours to Patie is gone also.

"The last time I saw Mr Hume he told me he had not then got an answer from his brother relative to the £50, but expected it daily. I'll ask him from time to time about it.

"No further step has been taken in the Act for taking away the judicatures, the two Houses of Parliament having been for some days occupied about Lovat's Trial, but now that it is ended I suppose that Act will be immediately resumed, and that there will be time to consider of some other Regulations. No

step has yet been taken with regard to the forfeited estates.

"I am clear as to an excambion, but there can be no proposal made till 'tis known what power the Crown will have over those lands, and how far bargains already made about them will be valid, which will be a work of time. The Advocate being now come up may forward these Acts.

"You did well to engage Morrison only for a year, his terms being high, but he may be worth the expense.

"In Lovat's Trial, the Lords constantly show'd him great Indulgence, having twice adjourn'd for a day and once for three days, on his complaint of being weak and unable to bear the fatigue of it every day. But he has shewn during the whole time as much spirit as any young fellow, and good health, but weak in his Limbs, and was, therefore, allow'd a Chair at the Bar. The Proofs against him were very strong and clear, witnesses who swore to his having enter'd into an association with E. Traquair and others in the year 1739, and sent over their scheme to France by Drummond of Bochaldie, and Murray the Secretary gave the same evidence with many circumstances, particularly that, after the Battle of Culloden, he advis'd assembling 3000 men, of which 400 Frasers, in order to encourage others to come to them again. In the former association and in a scheme sent to France a few years ago, he proposed 1500 French to land about Aberdeen, 1500 in the West Highlands, and 10,000 in England. His Secretary, Robert Fraser, swore to several letters writt by him (Fraser), dictated by his Lop., which were produced, some of them were writt to the young Pr——r, assuring him of his zeal, and bewailing his misfortune of not being able to come in person to him, but that he had sent his darling son to him. In a letter to his son, after his escape from E. Loudoun, he says He was lucky to get away, for he had done more harm to the Government than would hang 50 Lords and forfeit 50 Estates. One Hugh Fraser, who had been his secretary till the year 1744, deponed his being sent by him (tho' not then in his service) to the young Pr. after his landing. It appear'd also that he had a Patent of Duke, and a Commission to command the Highland Forces. In short the proof was so clear and so strong that when he came on his defence he insisted that his witnesses were detained in Scotland, and desired time to send for them, tho' he had often said before that he had 9 or 10 of them in town, who would contradict all that was laid to his charge, but he certainly did not imagine the proof was so clear, and one of his own Lawyers told me it was impos-

sible for him to make any defence. He would not examine any of his witnesses, but made a long speech mentioning his former services and his obligations to the late King, and would infer that he was therefore not capable of rebelling. Upon the whole the Lords, being 157 present, were unanimous that he was guilty, and this day he received sentence, which the King will mitigate to beheading.

"In several of his letters he says he had been always attach'd to that Family, and had done it more service than any man in Scotland by keeping up the spirit among the people, with many very strong expressions of loyalty and zeal, &c.

"I'm glad the weather has been so favourable with you. It is very cold here and frost in the nights.

"Sandie writes me from Bath, he had not then found any benefit for want of time, he is very anxious to have a Company tho' he should buy it.

"The difficulties of reducing Genoa still subsist, the Austrians had not yet got their Artillery by the last letters.—Adieu —Yours, "G———."

NOTE.—Baleveolan was descended from John of Barcaldine, the second laird.

NO. XXVII.

LETTER from Lord Glenorchy, to John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq., docqueted "London, 9 April, 1747. Letter Lord Glenorchy":—

"London, 9th April, 1747.

"Sir,—I seceived in due course yours of the 25th past. My last to you was of the 19th.

"I agree with you in your notion of the Bill you read, and likewise that something might be done with regard to the Bailiarie of Breadalbane for the benefit of the publick, but people here don't see those things in the same light. The Bill is alter'd from its first form, and I'm told it takes away the power of judging in Criminal cases only where life is concerned, but leaves the power of trying and punishing less Crimes, such as small Thefts, Riots, &c., and also of judging causes of money not exceeding about 40s sterlg., so that it only cuts off the Branch relating to Capital crimes. As to Circuits I'm told they are to be at Inveraray, Fort-William, and Dornoch. The Bill was brought into the House of C. last Teusday, and a strong debate upon it, being opposed by all those who constantly oppose, and by some others and some Scots members. The House is sum-

mon'd to attend after the Easter Holydays, that it may be considered with attention. A clause is inserted giving the same power over Miners as the law now gives over Colliers and Salters. Another Bill is talked of for taking away ward holdings and converting them into Fues, to be valued by the session.

"I doubt much if Sandie's scheme will succeed. His first thought was to give half-pay to James, which should be continued always by the youngest Capt., so that Sandie would be quit of it whenever a younger Capt. is made, but E. Loudoun is entirely averse to burdening any officer with the half-pay of another, and declares he will always oppose it. Sandie next offers to buy James' Compy. or any other, and to sell his own Commission. I mentioned this to E. Loudoun, who told me he has a very good opinion of Sandie, tho' little acquaintance with him, and should be glad to see him advanced, but that being determined to go on in a regular manner in the Regiment if James gets leave to sell (which he doubts) he will be obliged to offer the purchase to the eldest Lieut., and in case he refuses to buy, then to the next Lieut., and so down. He said he wished all above Sandie would refuse to buy, but he imagines some have money for it. I asked him if Sandie's wounds would not be reckon'd a sufficient reason for giving him the preference in buying; he answer'd that it would be a very good reason for preferring him to any who were idle or absent from their Posts, but it would be looked upon in any regiment a hardship to prefer a man (when a younger officer) only because he happen'd to be wounded before others who were equally doing their duty, but had the luck to be on command in another place. He assur'd me that if he can serve Sandie without giving cause of complaint to others (which he is resolved always to avoid) he will do it. I had a letter lately from Sandie advising me to buy Sr. Alexr. Macdonald's stock of cattle for Finlarig, but says not a word of himself.

"The C. Bar.'s answer to me is in these words—'By the Bill it is calculated to give the appointment of the officers and agents to the Bars., and I have laid a foundation which I hope will not fail of success in obtaining what your Lop. desires, when we shall be invested with the proper powers.' The Bill was framed in Scotd., and will I suppose soon come into the H. of Cs.

"Tell Ardchattan that I have received his letter, and shall be glad to serve his son and brother all I can.

"I almost forgot to mention that E. Loudoun is very much dissatisfied with Gleneure for not attending at his post, and I

find he takes it ill that Colin applied to others for leave of absence rather than to his Ldp. He said that when ever he asks leave again he will certainly refuse him. If you see Colin I wish you would tell him this, and Loud. says that the mistake in his Commission is of no consequence, and the rather because he imagines Colin will not continue long in the army, as he does not appear to be fond of it. These were his Ldp.'s words.

"I have heard that all the officers of Lord Jo. Murray's Regt. are well, and consequently Allan. As soon as they arrived in England from Ireland, they sail'd directly for Holland. General Sinclair told me they were forced into a very mountainous part of Ireland, and the Highlanders seem'd excessively pleased, and went up directly to the tops of the Hills as barren as in Lochaber.

"Mr Hume (brother to the Commissary) tells me that his brother writes to him from Flanders that the person there whom he employ'd to pay the £50 to the Lads has stated it in his Accounts, so that he reckons they certainly got it, but that he would make further enquiry about it.

"The Duke has taken the Field, and the Army will be assembled in a very little time, some accounts call them 150,000 men, but I'm told the D. himself (which is good authority) says he shall have immediately 125,000 men.

"Adml. Medley has taken ten of the French Transports with 1500 men going to Genoa, the rest escaped into small Creeks in the Coast. He had posted himself so that nothing could get in, 'twas thought some got in before.

"I send you the Ld. High Steward's speech in pronouncing sentence on Lord Lovat, which is reckon'd a fine performance. He was beheaded this day. I have not heard how he behaved on the scaffold, but he was two days ago extremely easy and unconcerned. He then said he would dye like a man, and would not trouble the spectators with any speech. He declared himself a Roman Catholic of the sect of the Jansenists, who deny the Infallibility and Supremacy of the Pope, and place the latter in the Gallican Church.—Adieu—Yours, "G———.

"All the particulars mentioned in the Speech were proved at the Bar. Lovat petition'd the H. of Lords for leave to have a Priest, which was granted.

"The D. of Argyll's youngest daughter was married on Saturday to Lord Coke, the son of the E. of Leicester. There is only one daughter now to marry."

NOTES.—Lord Loudon's Regiment, after serving in Flanders, and taking part in the unsuccessful defence of Bergen-op-

Zoom, joined the Duke of Cumberland's army, and at the peace of 1748 returned to Scotland, and was reduced at Perth in June of that year.

Alexander Campbell, Barcaldine's brother, is probably the Sandie who, as is evident from a subsequent letter of Lord Glenorchy's (No. XXIX.), borrowed money in 1747, possibly for his Company; in any case he must have left Loudon's Regiment on its reduction, but whether he was afterwards appointed to another I have failed to discover; perhaps he was appointed a Lieutenant in Montgomery's Highlanders in 1757. His brother, Glenure, apparently gave up the profession of arms.

Barcaldine's son, Alexander, who had served as a Volunteer in the Argyllshire Militia in 1746, got a Captain's commission in one of the Independent Companies raised in 1747, and perhaps he is the Sandie referred to in Letter No. XXIX. Among the Bighouse Papers is a voluminous letter, full of excellent advice, from John Campbell, cashier of the Royal Bank of Scotland ("Banker John"), dated Edinburgh, 2nd September, 1747, and addressed to "Captain Alexander Campbell, younger of Barcaldine, commanding a British Independent Company design'd for service at Fort-George, in the East Indies," on the occasoion of his leaving his home and his country, as to his bearing as a Christian, a gentleman, and a soldier.

Allan Campbell, brother of John of Barcaldine, and of Alexander, and Colin, Glenure, was in Lord John Murray's Regiment, then numbered the 43rd, the Black Watch: for a time it was designated by the titles of its successive Commanders, as "Lord Crawford's," "Lord Sempill's," and "Lord John Murray's;" the last got the regiment in 1745. Part only of the three last raised Companies, along with Loudon's Highlanders, joined the force which embarked for Flanders in April, 1747: as all claimed to serve, the question of preference was decided by the men of these three Companies drawing lots.

NO. XXVIII.

LETTER from Lord Glenorchy, to John Campbell of Barcaldine, docqueted "London, 23 April 1747—Letter Lord Glenorchy."

"London, 23rd April 1747.

"Sir,—I have received your two letters of the 4th and 11th. The Report of some French ships being on the West Coast still prevails here. I'm glad to find by your last that it is not true.

"'Tis wonderful how Ardsheal and Ludovick Cameron escape so long the search made after them and others, and I'm surprised Cluny has kept his person and his money all this time out of the hands of the Parties sent after him.

"I see in your last your blood raised against miserable Macnab, whom I laugh at, his aspersions will do little harm; tho' they shew his good will.

"Sandie is come from Bath, his hand is much better, he can use his fingers pretty well, and the natural warmth is return'd into it, except the little finger, but he is told it will also recover in time. He went from Bath to see Allan at Portsmouth, who, he says, looks extremely well, and is grown fat. The Highland Regiment, with the Royals and Brag's, are now in Zealand to hinder the French from crossing into that Island, and some of our men of war join'd to some Dutch are in the Scheld for the same purpose.

"The Dutch have declared the Prince of Orange Stadtholder of the seven Provinces. The mob or common people rose tumultuously and insisted upon it, so that the States thought it necessary for their own safety to agree to it, and yesterday was appointed for the ceremony.

"The French have taken Madras or Fort St George in the West Indies, which is a great loss to the East India Company, and consequently to the nation. Three of the French ships, on board of which they had put the chief of their Plunder, were lost soon after at sea, so that they did not get much by it, and probably our men of war will recover it.

"The last accounts from Holland said the Duke was advancing towards Antwerp to besiege it, in order to draw the French to a Battle.

"Lovat died with great firmness and decency, shewed no apprehension, and was gay and easy on the scaffold. He had agreed with an undertaker to carry his Body down to his own Countrey, but it was forbid, so that he will lose the Coronach.

"The Bill for taking away the Jurisdicity was strongly debated last week in the House of Commons: the number for the Bill was 233, the number against it was 102. The Duke of Queensbury and E's of Eglington and March petition'd against it. Several here think the power left with the Bailies of fining in a small sum in case of Quarrels and Riots in the Countrey, and of imprisoning for a short time when the Criminal can't pay his fine, is too great a power. They would leave no power except of taking up Rents and of putting in the Stocks. By the Bill, as it now stands, Bailies can judge of small crimes such as

quarrels, and can fine and imprison for a certain time when the fine can't be paid, and they can jjudge in debts not exceeding 40 sh. sterlg. The Prisons must be enter'd in the Sheriff Clerk's book, and must be above ground, with windows for the Prisoner's friends to see and converse with him. The Sheriff Depute is to be appointed by the Crown, and must be an Advocate of a certain standing, and he is to hold itinerant Courts in whatever places he pleases in his Sherifdom, and if he finds the private prisons unhealthy or oppressive he may prohibit them.

"John won't look kindly on a Sheriff Depute holding Courts at Killin and Kenmore. In the further progress of the Bill there may yet be some alterations made.

"We set out on Wednesday next the 29th for Sugnall, where I shall not sty long. I hope to be at Edinburgh about the 15th or 16th of next month, and at Taymouth about the 22nd or thereabouts. I shall sty there ten or twelve days, and shall return back to Sugnall. I wish you could come to Taymouth to me, but I'll let you know further when I come to Edr. I believe Sandie will go with me from this all the way to Edr. He is delighted with the country, and says if you saw what he has seen you would run mad with Projects.—Adieu.

"G———."

NOTE.—I presume that the "John" who would not look kindly on Courts held at Killin and Kenmore was John Campbell of Achalader, as Achmore was close to Killin. As to Sugnall, see note at end of next letter.

NO. XXIX.

LETTER from Lord Glenorchy, to John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq., so addressed, and "to the care of the Chamberlain of Argyll at Inveraray," and docqueted "London, 12th Novr., 1747, Lord Breadalbane's Letter":—

"London, 12th Novr., 1747.

"Sir,—I am come up here to attend his Majesty in my office at the opening of Parliament, and would return immediately to Sugnall, where I left the family, but I stay on account of your affair and that of the Sheriff, about which I shall soon have an opportunity of talking fully, and will then let you know my thoughts of it.

"Since my last I have had two melancholy letters from Sandie, who was terribly frightened that I would not advance

the money to Mr Calcraft, whom he commends extremely for his civility and kindness to him in giving him money for necessaries when he might have stopt his pay to reimburse himself. He talked in his letter of his honour and his character being lost at his first setting out in the world if this money is not paid, and as his uneasiness proceeded from an honest principle I was really sorry for him. But I have sice received a letter from him in answer to mine acquainting him that I had writt to Mr Drummond to take up his note from Mr Calcraft by paying him the money, and Sandie seems to be now as happy as he was before uneasy. His only concern now is the Inconveniency it might be to you to pay the money so soon, for he drew the Bill on you to Calcraft payable in ten days after sight, which I suppose Calcraft insisted on, and he gave him his note for the money, likewise acknowledging that he ow'd him so much, the sum is £252 11s 0d. I have got up the note and have burnt it, and I have sent the Bill discharged on the back by Calcraft to Bank John, and have writt to him to settle the payment with you in the easiest and most convenient method for you in some time after this, for I am in no immediate want of the money, the cash comes in but slowly here this year.

"I wish you would make enquiry whether two English gentlemen, supposed to be agents from the Pretr., have been lately in the Highlands with Cluny and others of that stamp, and whether Cameron the forester had seen those gentlemen. I have a reason for wanting to be particularly inform'd with regard to this last circumstance of Cameron, because something of that kind has been writt up here. I desire you would not mention this, but let me know as soon as possible what you can learn about it. 'Twas said he had conducted them to Cluny. Adieu.—Yrs., "G———."

NOTE.—Lord Glenorchy was appointed Master of His Majesty's Jewel Office in 1746. His 2nd wife was second daughter and co-heiress of John Pershall, who predeceased his father, Sir Thomas Pershall, of Great Sugnall, in the County of Stafford, Bart.

As to the "two English gentlemen," it would be interesting to ascertain who they were; possibly Thomas Newton alias Major Kennedy, who appears to have been employed by the Prince in obtaining part of the Locharkaig Treasure for his requirements, was one of them.

NO. XXX.

LETTER from Baron Maule, one of the Barons of Exchequer, evidently to John Campbell of Barcaldine, and docqueted in the same handwriting as the other letters, "London, 23rd Novr., 1747, Letter Baron Maule":—

"Argyle Street, 23rd Novr., 1747.

"Sir,—I am favoured with yours of the 6th and has taken the first opportunity to mention your affair to the Duke of Argyll, and has since conversed with Ld. Glenorchy fully about it. Mr Pelham has been spoken to and is fully apprised how the matter stands, and if I am rightly informed that affair will soon be settled to your satisfaction. I think you judged right in not meeting Mr Bruce when he was on his survey, for tho' I'm persuaded you will both execute your trusts with fidelity, it might have been otherwise interpreted by people that are not your well-wishers. I am sorrie I had not the pleasure of seeing you at Inverary and shou'd be glad to have it in my power to do you a good office.—Being very sincerely, sir, your most obedient humble servant, (Sd.) "JOHN MAULE."

NOTE.—The reference here is obviously to the appointment of Barcaldine and Glenure as Factors on the Forfeited Estates, viz.:—On the Perth Estates and those of Ardshiel, Callart, and Mamore respectively, on Lord Glenorchy's recommendation.

"Mr Bruce," no doubt the Mr D. Bruce who was employed in 1749 to survey the Forfeited Estates, and is mentioned several times by Mr Lang, in "Pickle the Spy," as "an English official," "a Court Trusty," and sent in 1754 as a "spy upon a spy," known as "Cromwell." Mr Lang is also inclined to attribute to him a MS. Report on the Highlands of Scotland, which he found in the British Museum, and has recently edited.

NO. XXXI.

LETTER from Captain Alexander Campbell, son of Barcaldine, to his Parents, the cover addressed to John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq., at Dalfour, and docqueted "Camp at the Cape of Good Hope, 10 April, 1748. Letter Coll. Alexr. Campbell":—

"My dear Parents,—I did myself the honour of writing you from all the places I had any opportunity since I left England, and have in all my letters given you an account of all that happen'd remarkable since we left England, and I have now sent

you a particular Journal which I have kept of everything that has happen'd since we sailed from Spithead. We have met some homeward bound Dutch East Indiamen here, by whom we'll send home our letters. I think this is the most pleasant place I ever saw. We are to encamp here and stay for a month to refresh our Troops. We are most lucky in Admiral Boscowen for a Commanding Officer, as I don't think there is a prettyer Gentleman in his Majestie's service. All the Gentlemen from Scotland are in very good health. I have only lost Donald Derg M'Coll of my Company since I sail'd, and have had very few sick, all the fellows I carried from the Country with [me] are [in] good health and spirits. I hope by this time that you have gott the affair you was about when I left home settled, which God willing will putt you in a way to be able to do for us all, and I hope tho' I [am] absent and att a distance that I won't be forgot, if it be in your power to do anything for me, as I hope in God never to give you occasion to do otherways by [me]. I beg you'l excuse my being so bold as to put you in mind of any such thing, for it is not attal that I have any doubt of your doing all you can for me, but as it's very natural to suppose that those that are still at hand should be best minded, and most thought of, I have ventured to writ this to put you in mind of me, and I hope the next letters you have from me I'll be able to send home what will buy [a] bit of land, if Admiral Griffin don't take Pont de Cherry before we get there, as it is very probable it may happen to, as it is just now blocked up by the Mogul by Land and by Admiral Griffin by Sea, I wish that I had known so much of the state of our affairs before I went away as I do now, so that I might consult with you and Lord Glenorchy what I should do, whether I should come home or stay there, as it is said those who have a mind may come home on half-pay, which, to be sure, to me would be a very pretty competency to live on, especially if we are [to] get any prize-money, but for all that, if I see there is any probability of making a fortune there in a few years, I'll stay, it is said that those that will stay are to have half-pay from the King and full pay from the Company, which will [be] near about £300 a year, besides 30 Rupees a month [of ?] stop Gelt, that is to pay for Lodgings, which, if it be true, and we can come home when we please on our half-pay, I think I can't do better than stay for a few years to try what luck I'll have, and nothing could hinder me from staying as things now stand, but being out of the way of preferment, and as I am in such a good way in the Army now,

I daresay that you would wish to push me as fast forward as possible, I shall writ to Lord Glenorchy, to General and Collonel Campbell—to Mr Campbell in the Bank, I shall add to his letter anything else I think worth notice that happens while I am here.

"My dear Parents, I am oblige to end my letter soonner than we incline on account of the India Ships going away, so that I can't give you that account of things as I would wish. Admiral Boscowen has appointed Capt. Jack Campbell to be his aide de camp, whoes merits you are too well acquainted with for me to pretend to give you an account of. I hear that there are some more Dutch Ships homward bound expected here soon, so that I hope to have an opportunity of writing you yet before we sail from this place, and now I shall conclude, my dearest Parents, with my duty to Grandmama and all my Dr. Brothers and Sisters, and I ever will be your most obedient and dutiful son, (Sd.) "ALEX. CAMPBELL.

"Camp at the Cape of Good Hope,
"Aprile 10th, 1748."

NO. XXXII.

LETTER from Captain Alexander Campbell, son of John of Barcaldine, to his parents. This letter and another, inside of which it is folded, are docqueted "Fort St David's 12th and 15th Octr. 1748. Letter Coll. Alexr. Campbell."

"My Dear Parents,—We march'd from Fort St David's the Eight of August, for Pont de Cherry, the success we had, I daresay, you'll soon hear. Our people behav'd well, both officers and men, with all the conduct and courage men could do, we miantain'd trenches for three weeks with small arms, and against shells and great guns, and if we had an Engineer and Triple our number of men might have taken the place, for sure never was there a man more abus'd than the General has been, to send him with a handful of men to attack a place with near the same number of men within it that we had without. Our Battalion is to be, as I hear, quarter'd for the winter att a place called the Garden House within a mile of Fort St David's, the first battalion at Cudelore, and the Marines are gone a board ship. This is the poorest country I ever was in, for there is neither meat nor drink to be got in it, and if we had not a Table found us by the India Company our pay would never do, and as for money

if ever a man that has not a stock to set up with makes any in this damn'd country, I could suffer any besides one cringe to the Governours, and I would see them as soon all at the Devil, &c., for I would—so I beg, if possible, you would change me into a marching Regiment, or anywhere but this curs'd country, besides the business I before wrote you of must require my being at home or else I shall lose considerably. I have likewise writ my Lord Glenorchy of it, and all my Friends here think that it can't be so easily settled till I go home. I believe that by the time that this comes to your hand that their will be near Seventy Pound due to me by the Agent, which if you chuse you may call for by virtue off the power of Attorney I sent you. I expect as this letter goes by an Express that it will reach you before those I writ by Mr Griffin Squadron, therefore I send you a power of Attorney enclosed. All hopes of making anything in this country may now be laid aside, so that all I need expect is to broil on here for a few years longer, and if I do get home then I shall never be fit for anything, but I'll add no more upon that head, as I know when you receive my letters by the last fleet that sail'd you'l make all the interest you can to get me chang'd, for I assure you that I never will throw up the bread I have till I be sure of better, tho' I might now live very happilie on that money, for 130 pound a year is no despicable thing, yet if I had 1000 per annum I would still follow the army, for if I were in Europe I might have some chance of dieing in a tolerable Rank in the Army as I got what I have so young, whereas by staying in this country I have not the least chance of ever being higher than I now am, so I beg you'l push your interest to trv and get me chang'd if possible. Don't spare a little money for I now, thank God, by that Legacy am able to pay you all that I ever cost you in any way whatever.

"Poor John Haliburton, Petcur's brother, was killed the very day we arriv'd before Pont de Cherry, by one of our own Blacks: he was the cleverest fellow by far the Company had in this Country: in short, he was fit for anything, he [was] equally Statsman, Soldier, and Mercant, never was man more regretted than he was, and every day we miss him more and more, he died, I believe, worth some money, but what I can't say, for he sustain'd great loss at Madras. Poor Colin Campbell, Carszonie's son, was likewise kill'd there. My Colin wounded and Captain Forbes lost his leg and best part of his thigh by a bomb-shell, but I hope he'll recover. Dugald Macdonald, all the rest of our Scotch officers, both from the North and Argyle-

shire, are in good health, save one Kenneth Mackenzie, in whos place we have got one James Ogilby, a son of Sir James Ogilby's, in the shire of Angus. I shall conclude this sheet with assuring you that I ever am, my Dear Parents, your most Dutiful Son,

"ALEX. CAMPBELL.

"Fort St David's
"October 12th, 1748."

NOTE.—For further details see next letter and note appended.

NO. XXXIII.

LETTER from Captain Alexander Campbell, son of John Campbell of Barcaldine, to his parents. The docquet mentioned under No. xxxii. is on the back of this letter, which covers No. xxxii.

"My dear Parents,—I shall in this sheet give you a little sketch of our proceedings in this country. We sail'd from the Cape of Good Hope the eight of May, and after a most tedious passage with a continued Tenour of bad weather for near three weeks we mad the Island of Moritias the 23rd of June, 24th in the morning anchored in Turtle Bay. Our ships as they went in exchang'd some shot with the Enemy's small forts that guarded the entrance of the Harbour. We anchored within large cannon shot of the shore, opposed to 2 batteries of 6 guns each: they fired a few shots at the 'Pembroke,' which she returned. This evening two of our Engineers went to reconoitre the coast, and find out a proper place for landing the Troops: 25 in the morning a Councill of War on Board the Admiral's: 26 another Councill, in which it was determined not to attack the place: 27 got all things readv for weighing: 28 in the morning weighed and the Dutch Commodore with his fleet separated. We [had] a charming passage from Moritias to Fort St David's where we arriv'd the 27 of July.

"In this Road we met with Rear Admiral Griffin's Squadron: 28 had orders to make ready for landing att an hour's warning: 29 landed some Horse: 30 landed two Battalions of Independents, and encamped on a plain about a mile and half from Fort St David's: 30 and 31 also landed the Marines of both Squadrons, and the Company of the Train of Artillery: 2nd August Draught four Companies of Granadiers: 3, 4, 5, 6 nothing extraordinary: 7 we had orders to strick [camp]: the 8th by Daybreak, Decamp'd and march about a 2 miles: this Day we were join'd by the India Company: 9, 10, 11 continued

of our march: 11th in the evening our puns [this word "puns" is probably for "peons," foot soldiers in India, pronounced "punes"] got possession of some entrenchment the enemy had by a [?] Chaultry, this night the army lay the whole night on their arms: 12 in the morn the Army encamped: 13 about four o'clock in the morning the Granadiers of our Army with the Pickets of the line were [? ordered] under the command of Major Mompessant to attack a small fort called Arcocapan: they lost a good many men kill'd and wound'd, we had one officer killed, one mortally wound'd who died next day, poor Colin Campbell my 1st Lieutenant was shot throw the thigh but is now just recover'd, as was Mr Rose throw the shoulder, who is likewise recover'd, that evening we lay on our arms out of cannon reach of Arcocapan, and next day being 14th encamp'd, this day the seamen landed and some guns from the ships, and in the night we broke before Arcocapan: 15, 16 nothing extraordinary: this night we began our battery: 17 on the night we were attack'd by a party of French puns, who made our workmen run away and put the covering party in some confusion, but Captain Robt. Gordon of the Scotch Company rallied a few men, I think 30 att most, fir'd on the enemy, beat them back and put all things to rights again: 18 nothing extraordinary: 19 about 9 o'clock a party of 50 Horse sallied out on our trenches supported by a party of foot, their orders was if possible to nail up our guns, but after a pretty smart skirmish they were repuls'd: we lost some men kill'd, Major Lawrence belonging to the India Company and Captain Bruce of our Companys were taken prisoners, we took a Capt. of Horse and troopers of the enemy and they left a good many men on the ground, this evening we blew up and abandon'd the fort: 20, 21 the Indian and first Battalion of Independents remov'd their camp close under Arcocapan, and we began to repair the damage done by blowing up the place: 22, 23, 24, 25, nothing extraordinary: 26 in the morning decamped and cross'd the River on the other sidee of the Fort, and drew in order of battle, and march'd, so all day the enemy fir'd a few guns out of the wood att us but did no damage. This evening poor John Haliburton was killed by one of our Blacks: he died much regreted by every body, and our Battalion with the Battalion of marines were order'd to go under the command of Major Mompessant to support Major Muir with four companies of Granadeers who were order'd [to attack] some entrenchments the enemy had in there on the skirts of the wood, but they abandon'd them upon seeing us advance: 27

nothing extraordinary: 28 the enemy threw some shells into our camp, which oblig'd [us] the next day to remove att a greater distance: 29 this day the Town play'd pretty warm on our advance Guard but kill'd only one man, this day had our Cannon brought from Arcocapan in the night, and threw up a lodgment to cover our men at the [?] Barraer: 30 they play'd very smartly on us; and at night 300 men were order'd to cover a party of workmen under the direction of Mr Turner one of our Engeneers to break ground before Pont de Cherry and by 2 in the morning we threw up a cover for 300 men: we had not the least disturbance till daylight, when they began to play very hot with shells and shot, and about 7 a party of their puns sallied out and [i.e. of] a smal redout we thrown up in a village in the front of our entrenchments, where there was an officer and forty men advanc'd. Our people were oblig'd to retire to the trenches and about . . . return'd soon after and took possession again of the village: we had a skirmish again in the afternoon, in which we lost a few men and 2 officers, and the enemy lost upwards of 28 men and an officer in the field and 130 men wounded and several officers. Thursday first Sept. the Town [fired] great numbers of shot and shells but did very little damage; from the 2nd to the 9th nothing extraordinary, continued our entrenchment: 9th came in three French deserters: 10th poor Capt. Forbes of the Second Battalion had his right leg shot off, and in the night we begun the blind of our Grand Battery: we finished the blind of the 8 gun Battery and begun that of the four gun, and begun to lay the foundation of our Battery's: 12th, 13th, 14th nothing extraordinary: 15th the Pickets were to the waterside to sustain our escort, which was said to be attacked by the French, this day poor Colin Campbell, Carszonie's son, was mortally wounded, he lived for 10 days. 16 did nothing on account of the rains, finish'd one of three Batterys in the night all to the platforms and rais'd the Grand Batterys a good deal: 17th and 18th did little or nothing on account of the rains: 19th our two Grand Batterys were finished all to the platforms: 20th laid our platforms, and made magazins: 21st carry'd down eight 24 pounders and mounted them this night, the Bomb Batterys were begun: 22nd the French surpris'd our waterside party and carry'd off 2 24 pounders, but we sav'd all the ammunition and in the morning landed and brought up to Camp two more guns: 24th att night levell'd the Blind and got all the things ready to open in the morning: 25th in the morning the Batteries open'd att Six

o'clock: 26 and 27 the ships play'd on the town: 28 ships ceas'd firing: 29 nothing extraordinary: 30 a Councill of war, in which it was determin'd to raise the Siege, it being impossible to pursue it, the Season of the year being so far advanc'd: from thence to the 6 of Octr. was employ'd in embarking the Stores. Oct. 6 in the morning the whole army march back for Fort St Davids and arriv'd safe there the 7th at night, the Marins are gone aboard ship, the first Battalion [viz., of Independent Coe.] is quarter'd at Cudalore, and ours at the Garden house: this is a most confus'd account, and I am afraid that you can scarcely make any sense of it, but if I have the good luck ever to get home to you I shall give you a more particular account of everything. Our General and all the Army behav'd as well as men could do, I am almost blind with writing so I shall conclude with begging my compliments to all friends and that you'l use your endeavours to get me into a Marching Regiment if possible for I'd almost as soon live in Hell as in India, so with my duty [to] Grandmamma, and the children, I ever am, my Dr. Parents, Your most dutifull and most affecte. Son,

"ALEX. CAMPBELL.

"Fort St Davids, Oct. 15th, 1748.

"P.S.—The young Gentleman we got into our Company is a son of Sir John Ogilvie of Inverwharrity's. "A. C."

NOTE.—The writer of the above was a young Captain, described by Lord Glenorchy as follows:—"Tho' but sixteen years old he served as a volunteer in the Argyllshire Militia at his own expense during the whole Rebellion, where his behaviour was such as procured him a Company in the Expedition to ye East Indies under Admiral Boscowen." Consequently at the date of this letter he must have been barely 20 years of age. He was subsequently appointed Major in the 1st Highland Battalion," or "Montgomery's Highlanders," when it was raised—date of his commission, 7th January, 1757—and embarked for Halifax in 1758. This regiment, along with the 1st Battalion 42nd, took part in the expedition against Fort du Quesne, and, after its capture, in the taking of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. It was reduced in 1763, but Major Alexr. Campbell was appointed Lieut.-Col. in Burton's regiment (probably the 3rd Buffs) in 1761, and Col. in the army, 9th August, 1777.

The Marine Battalion here mentioned must have been one of the old regiments of Marines, raised about 1739-1748. The Marines of the present day date from 1755, when the British Infantry had been reduced to 49 regiments, and, as the R.M. Light Infantry, had its place in the line between the 49th and

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50th regiments. The old 50th, raised in 1745, was disbanded in 1757, when an old 52nd, raised in 1755, became the 50th, and the Royal Marines took precedence; the designation "Light Infantry" was given a century after it was raised.

Chaultry, perhaps "Sortie." Memo.—Dunstaffnage wrote me that there is a word Chaultry used in Madras for a Police Station or a piece of ground surrounded by pretty high walls; but I don't see how a word with that meaning suits the context.

NO. XXXIV.

LETTER from Colin Campbell of Glenure to his brother, John Campbell of Barcaldine, addressed to the latter at Crieff, to the care of Robert Campbell, merchant at Stirling, another brother, and docqueted "20th October, 1748. Letter Colin Campbell of Glenure."

Gleniure, 20th October, 1748.

"Dr. Broyr,—I intended to have writt you to Crief fair, butt miss'd an opportunity; as I sappose you'l have occasion to remitt money to Edr. att or about Martinmass, would you pay a Bill of one hunder and eighty odd pounds I'm due to the Royal Bank, and bring my Bill home wt. you, I would be obliged to you, and thankfully repay you when you came home, or if you desir'd to pay the money to any in this country sooner would do it, the plain reason why I offer you this trouble is that could I help it, I don't like sending so much money by a servant from this country to Edr. for fear of accidents, and as you'l either go wt. your mony yourself or send a sufficient convoy all would be snugg and safe, I only mean this in case you are to bring home a sum of Perthshire cash equall to my Bill, which I daresay you will, or that you have any money to pay sooner in this country than your own return.

"Be so good by first post after this arrives to lett me know if I can depend on your paying this Bill, that in case you can't I may take anoyr method of paying it. It may be a loss shou'd I be obliged to take any oyr methode before I have your answere, which I'll expect in course of post by Edr. and Inverary if no oyr sure hand offers. I daresay my sister has writt you that poor Ladie Keithock is dying. I think she may be burried wtout your comeing off the head of your Business att so critical a time. Pray let me hear anything you know of poor Dungallon's fate how [who] I'm told has or will be soon tried and how Sandie is. There is peace and tranquillity here.—Yours, &c., "COLIN CAMPBELL.

"If you go to Edr. will you enquire if the Treasury's answer is come to the Barrons about my nominations and if it is I expect you'll get my Commission exspede and sent me if possible before Martinmas, which you know will be narrowly watched in my neighbourhood to finger the rents. If I'm to give a Bond, it may be given to Sandie Robison, how [who] will send it me by the post to be sign'd. I believe Ballevoll will join me in the Security.

"I hope you'll send me as distinct an answere as I sent you from London when you employ'd me to agent and get the Commission in as good a form as you can if you ommitted anything in your own, I hope you'll get it rectifyed in mine, my powers wou'd require to be ample in so remote and uncivilized a corner as Lochaber.—Yours, "COLIN CAMPBELL."

NOTES.—Loudoun's Highlanders, in which Glenure held a Commission as Captain, were disbanded at Perth in June, 1748; apparently about that date both John of Barcaldine and Colin of Glenure were recommended for appointments as Factors on forfeited estates, the former on that of the Duke of Perth (and his Commission had been made out before this letter was written), the latter on certain estates in Lochaber and Appin, as mentioned in a Note to Letter XXX. The sums of money referred to were probably rents for which they were accountable, though there seems to have been some delay in making Glenure's appointment owing to a claim made on behalf of Alexander Stewart, a minor, eldest son of Charles Stewart, the attainted laird of Ardshiel, to succeed to the estate, which was ultimately rejected. Glenure's commission as factor on the forfeited estates of Ardshiel, Callart, and Mamore was dated 23rd February, 1749, but a letter from him to James Stewart of Acharn, dated 8th November, 1748, intimates that his appointment was made.

Dungallon: Cameron of Dungallon was nearly related to the Lochiel family, and Dr Archibald C., Lochiel's brother, was married to a daughter of C. of Dungallon.

Campbell of Keithock was a brother of Barcaldine's wife.

NO. XXXV.

LETTER from Charles Areskine of Alva (Lord Tinwald) to Barcalden, addressed to "Mr Campbell of Barcalden at Crieff," and docqueted "Aberdeen, 13 April, 1749, Letter Mr Charles Arskine."

"Aberdeen, April 13, 1749.

"Sir,—I have a particular reason for beging you may without losing time writte to your friends, such of them as you can

trust to feel the pulses of your neighbours in the West Highlands, if they are in expectations of their old Guest, who was very weary of his quarters? if any of those concerned in the Rebellion are lately returned from France? and in general what state they are in? You may be sure giving you this trouble has a meaning, and yet I do not fear any mischieff, therefore let as little noise be made as possible. Invera I suppose may have some directions from his superiors, however you may speak to him to assist in getting intelligence; and if anything occur that is material. I shall be at Inverness on the 22nd and remain there about a week, so if you have anything before I leave it you may send it to me by express. I salute our friends and I am D. Sr. sincerely your obedient most humble servt.,

"Barcalden. "CH. ARESKINE."

NOTES.—Prince Charlie visited England and was in London for 5 days, but not till Sept. 1750. Some of his friends were in Scotland in the winter of 1749, including Lochgarry, and also Dr Archd. Cameron, who visited Cluny in his retreat and got from him a sum of 6000 louis-d'ors, for which he granted him a receipt. There seems some ground for believing that the doctor was made a tool of by some person, who handed him a forged order, purporting to be signed by the Chevalier James to get his money, but none to show that the doctor appropriated any part of it; the money probably was partly expended in the Prince's interest and partly applied to defray the doctor's own expenses.

Invera: Captain Duncan Campbell of Inverawe was at this time a Captain in "the Black Watch;" he was killed as a Major at Ticonderoga in 1758.

NO. XXXVI.

LETTER from Colin Campbell of Glenure to his brother, John Campbell of Barcaldine, docqueted "Achmore, 5th May, 1749, Letter Colin Campbell."

"Achmore, Monday, 5th May, 1749.

"Dr. Broyr,—I had yours this morning, I shou'd be extremely happy to have your Company home, but I think I need not tell you how necessary it's for me to see what's adoing att Gleniure, which I can do from Dalfiur once I gett there, and a week is valuable this time of year for one how [who] has wrights and masons to employ: which obliges me to hurry here as fast as I can. Edinchip is here. I had a conference with him, he has agreed frankly to the terms Achallader and I concerted and

which I brought with me from Taymouth in writing, to which I refer you, as Achallader can inform you of them, only we made the provision for Daughters in case of no Heirs male of the Marriage thus: If but one Daughter 4000 mks., if two 5000 mks., if more than two 7000 mks. to be divided as is thought fit. I think it as much as cou'd be taken of the Lairdship, and I think it more equal than the former way, which in case of a number of young Ladies might exaust the whole estate, which for my own part I wou'd not desire. My Broyr Duncan was present to the whole, who is satisfyed as I hope Achallader and you will be. Edinchip is to send his papers to Edr. as they must be had to designe the lands in the contract of marriage. I hope as you are in the country you'l see all ended before you go, and I'll do the best I can for you att home. If you are oblidged to go I don't think it matters much since everything is concerted, as Achallader and Duncan will see it ended right enough, and I daresay wou'd have done so, tho' we had been necessarly out of the way from first.

"I heartily wish they were now buckled. You'l please give this to Achallader as I'm just going of, and have not time to write him.—I ever am, Dr. Broyr., Yours, &c.,

"COLIN CAMPBELL.

"P.S.—After closing this I have gott a smart reprimand for neglecting your sister's most Dutiful respects to Achallader and you, which gives you the trouble of this postscrip."

NOTE.—The following words are added, but apparently in a different handwriting—"Remember moveables or something in lieu of it."

This letter appears to have been written from Achallader's house at Achmore, when Glenure was on his way to Dalfure, enar Barcaldine, shortly after his visit to Bighouse, and apparently his brother Barcaldine intended soon going to Dalfure also from Crieff. The marriage contract referred to was evidently that of Campbell of Edinchip, who married Jean, sister of Barcaldine and of Glenure, and sister-in-law of Achallader. Glenure had availed himself of the services of Achallader shortly before, prboably in April of the same year (1749) with regard to his own marriage. Among the family papers is a long and interesting account of the visit of Achallader to the house of the Hon. Hugh Mackay of Bighouse, accompanied by Glenure, and of the interviews that took place first between Achallader and Bighouse, and afterwards between the latter and Glenure, as to the terms of the marriage settlement: the same difficulty was

discussed, viz., the most suitable provisions to be made for daughters without overburdening the estate. Ultimately it was referred to two mutual friends to decide. Glenure married the young lady, Bighouse's eldest daughter, on 9th May of the same year, a few days after the date of this letter: but as there were only 4 days between the 5th and the 9th, there seems to be some mistake in the dates, unless in one case new style and in the other old style dates are given.

NO. XXXVII.

LETTER from Archibald Campbell, Sheriff Depute of Argyll, to John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq.; so addressed, and docqueted "Inveraray, 31 May, 1749. Letter Archibald Campbell."

"Sir,—The first general meeting of the Commissioners of Supply is by Act of Parliament appointed to be held upon the first of June next. But as the Act is only very lately come to hand, and we must take a great time to give the necessary intimations in the remote parts of this shire, it was judged very unexpedient to hold the meeting till the 21st of June, when your presence will be necessary to concurr with the other commissioners for making the land tax effectual for the current year.—I am, sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

"ARCH. CAMPBELL, Sh. De.

"Inveraray, 21 May, 1749."

NOTE.—Archibald Campbell of Stonefield was for many years Sheriff Depute of Argyll.

NO. XXXVIII.

LETTER from Archibald Campbell, Sheriff of Argyll, to John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq.; so addressed, and docqueted same as the preceding one.

"Inveraray, 31st May, 1749.

"Dear Sir,—The meeting of the Commissioners of Supply is to be on the 21st June, the Commissioners of Valuation is to meet at the same time, so that your presence is necessary.

"There is a Report that I am to be attack'd with regard to some little excrescences of cess in the division of Kintyre intromitted with by me, and every Collector since the Revolution, and even prior to 1685, and none of them ever called to account for it, so that they think to treat me in a singular manner. This oblidges me to desire the attendance of all my friends, amongst

which number I justly reckon you among the foremost, that justice may be done.

"I am sensible of the consequence of having men of discretion and interest as well as numbers to settle this matter, and therefore must not only intreat that you come yourself, but that you will likewise move all your friends to attend.

"You know Glenure, Auchenaba, Baleveolan, Finglen and Corry are Commissioners, you will be so good as write or speak to them to attend, M'Dougall is also Commissioner so is Melfort and Carquhin.

"I shall be very fond to see you here the night before the meeting that we may have some Conference on the subject as it is probably the first business that will come before the meeting. I hope it will be the more easie for you to come as you have this timely advertisement.

"I intended to have spoke to you of this matter at Edinr. but that I unluckily miss'd you when you was going out of town.—I ever am Dr. Cousin your affcte. friend and most humble Servt., "ARCH. CAMPBELL."

NO. XXXIX.

MEMORIAL for Barcaldine and Glenure. [This is so docqueted: it is written in the third person, and is without date, but probably belongs to 1750 or 1751.]

"Lord Glenorchy having heard with equal surprise and concern that Mr Campbell of Barcaldine and Mr Campbell of Glenure, whom he recommended to be Factors of some of the Forfeited Estates in Scotland, have been represented as not well affected to the Government, he thinks it incumbent upon him to vindicate them from those false aspersions.

"Mr Campbell of Barcaldine, Factor of the Perth Estate is a Gentleman of a pretty good Estate. He has taken the oaths upon several occasions as a Justice of the Peace in Argyllshire and in Perthshire as a Commissioner of Supply and as a Deputy Lieutenant.

"He has in no instance of his life ever given the least cause for suspicion of his being a Jacobite, but on the contrary has given the strongest and repeated proofs of his attachment to the Government and has been always distinguished for his zeal for it.

"Mr Campbell of Barcaldine was the first man in Britain who drew his sword agst. the Rebells in the year 1745. A party of them cross'd an arm of the Sea and carried away some

people from the side where his Estate is, in order to force them into the Rebellion, Mr Campbell with his servts. and some of his bravest Tenants persued them in his own Boat so close tho' in the night that upon landing they abandon'd their prisoners, and he brought them back with him.

"The consequence of this bold and early opposition to the Rebels by a private Gentleman was that above Thirty persons came to him for protection from them. These he maintain'd for a considerable time at his own expence. They all afterwards enter'd into the Argyllshire Malitiae, and many of them fought under the Duke's command at Culloden, and receiv'd his Royal Highness's thanks for their behaviour. Mr Campbell was going himself to offer his Service to the Duke, but was employ'd by General Campbell where that General thought he could be more useful.

"When the Rebells beseiged Blair Mr Campbell of Barcaldine proposed to Lord Crawford to march to the relief of it, and offer'd to conduct the Hessdan troops by a way avoiding the famous pass of Gilliekrankie, so much apprehended by them. He sent upon that occasion the best Intelligence of any the Duke received, which was remembered by his Royal Highness when Mr Campbell was afterwards presented to him.

"Mr Campbell's Son, tho' but sixteen years old served as a Volunteer in the Argyllshire Militiae at his own expence, during the whole Rebellion, where his behaviour was such as procured him a Company in the Expedition to ye East Indies under Admiral Boscowen.

"He had likewise two nephews educated under his care, who distinguished themselves in a very remarkable manner, and being taken Prisoners were sent into France for refusing to sign a Parole not to carry arms against the Pretender, where they remained till the Cartel was settled.

"Mr Campbell of Barcaldine has not the least Connection nor Relation to any of the forfeited persons. Since Mr Campbell became Factor of the Perth Estate he has made a surprising alteration in that countrey by living amongst them (as all the Factors should do) and keeping a constant eye over their actions, by which means he will in a very few years bring them to be as good subjects as any in His Majesty's Dominions, which he looks upon to be of greater service to the Government, tho' much more troublesome and expensive to himself, than barely collecting the Rents, a Point which most of the Factors only attend to.

"Lord Glenorchy could mention many more well known Circumstances in vindication of Mr Campbell of Barcaldine's Character, but will only add that the profit that Gentleman has yet made of the Factory has not paid the expence he was at in the service of the Goverment during the late Rebellion, and Lord Glenorchy is convinced from the long knowledge he has of Mr Campbell that there are few in Scotland so proper in every respect for the Business he is employed in, and none more zealous for the Government.

"As to Mr Campbell of Gleneure (half-brother to Mr Campbell of Barcaldine). He is a Factor of only that part of the Estate of late Cameron of Locheil which holds of the Duke of Gordon, and of the very small estate of Stewart of Ardsheil. Another Campbell, whom Lord Glenorchy does not at all know, is Factor of the other part of Locheil's estate, holding of the Duke of Argyll, and of the Estate of Macdonald of Kinlochmoydart.

"Mr Campbell of Gleneure is a Gentleman of known Honour and Loyalty. He was an Officer in the Armv abroad, where he behaved well in his station, and upon the Peace retired to his own Estate, and is married to a niece of Lord Rae, whose Family (as are the Mackays in general) has been always Whig.

"Mr Campbell of Gleneure is, indeed, related by his mother to Cameron of Locheil's family, and a handle was taken from thence to insinuate that he acted in everything in concert with Cameron of Fassefern, brother of late Locheil, who, not having been openly in the Rebellion, lives at home. But after the strictest Inquiry made by the Barons of the Exchequer in Scotland, his conduct was in every step approved, and the Falshood and Malice of his accusers evidently appeared.

"Mr Campbell of Gleneure is at the greatest variance with Cameron of Fassefern. He has brought several well affected Tenants into that part of the Estate of Locheil, of which he is Factor, and is daily bringing in more, which makes him hated by the people of that countrv, and is the true cause of his being accused privately by those who cannot do it openly.

"Upon the whole, as Lord Glenorchy would not have recommended Mr Campbell of Barcaldine and Mr Campbell of Gleneure, if he had not been thoroughly sure, not only of their being well affected to the Government, but likewise of their being every way fitt for that employment, where knowledge of the Countrey and Resolution are requisite. He will venture the loss of Mr Pelham's good opinion, which he highly values, if

upon a fair and impartial Enquiry those Gentlemen's Principles are not found to be perfectly right.

"It being reported that Marybourg, near Fort-William, is inhabited by Jacobites by the allowance of Hamilton the Factor, Nephew of Hamilton, who commanded the Rebels at Carlisle, and it being also said that the very man who commanded the party which burnt the Barrack of Inversnaid has now a farm near that Barrack, and that the Tenants all round are Jacobites, as well as the Factor himself, who is married to a daughter of late Lord Nairn, a notorious Jacobite family, Lord Glenorchy thinks it proper to observe that Marybourg does not belong to the Crown, but is the property of the Duke of Gordon, and that Hamilton is the Duke of Gordon's Factor.

"The countrey likewise about the Barrack of Inversnaid does not belong to the Crown, but to the Duke of Montrose; and the Factor there is the Duke of Montrose's Factor, so supposing these representations to be true, they no ways relate to the Factors for the Crown."

NOTE.—Hamilton was Governor of Carlisle, and surrendered with the small garrison left by the Prince on his retreat from England into Scotland, on 30th December, 1745. The garrison were not at once put to the sword, but reserved for the King's pleasure.

NO. XL.

LETTER from Captain Alexander Campbell, son of John Campbell of Barcaldine, to his uncle [evidently Duncan, who was afterwards of Glenure]; docqueted "Glenure, 25th May, 1752. Letter Coll. Alexr. Campbell."

"Dr. Sir,—The inclos'd was put into my hands in bed this morning about 7 o'clock, the unhappy situation of affairs, I hope, will excuse my breaking it open. Phasanacloich has not been att home ever since this melancholy accident, I believe he is in Perthshire, and most probably amongst the Stewarts of Atholl. He was seen with Allan Breck, and stayed with him all Munday night att Balecheliss, and travell'd with him on Teusday to Port Callart, none but he, I mean young Phasanacloich, in company: there are several other concurring circumstances too tedious to mention here that makes it highly probable Phasanacloich knew every step intended: Particularly his refusing to go att his uncle, the Notairs desire to meet Glenuir, and endeavour to keep all things quiet, and I am sure Breck is such a fellow as could not conceal his intentions from

Phasanacloich when they were so long together without the least interruption. I have order'd the man on Lapenamart [Lubnamairt] and his maid to be brought here, and am in hopes of making some discoveries from them as I am credibly inform'd there is a great connection betwixt him and Breck and the whole Damned Race: I am certain we have the principal actors in custody, God Almighty, of his infinite mercy, grant their villany may come to light. I have likewise sent a proper man into Glencoe that I hope will be able to gett us pretty exact intelligence, and beg my Duty in the kindest manner to my Aunt and best wishes to the young Laird.—Ever am, Dr. Sir, your most affec. nephew and very humble servant,

"ALEXR. CAMPBELL.

"Glenuir, May 25th, 1752. 10 o'clock a.m.

"I think there ought [to be] a search made for Phasanacloich as he is not at home, and we have a warrant against him. "A. C."

NOTE.—"Munday night":—Monday was the 11th May, on the night of which Allan Breck and young Phasanacloich were at Ballachulish. Breck went to Callart and thence to Glencoe on Tuesday. Glenure was murdered on the evening of Thursday, 14th May. "Lupenamart":—Angus Mackintosh was innkeeper at Luibnamairt.

NO. XLI.

"SCROLL MINUTE of Procedure in Glenure's affairs and Recommendation to Duncan Campbell, Sheriff Subst., by the ffriends wtin named." 23rd June, 1752. [This date should be 13th June].

"At Glenure the 13th day of June one thousand seven hundred and fifty two years. The ffriends and relations of the deceast Colin Campell of Glenure viz. Hugh Mackay of Bighouse, William Baillie of Rosehall, John Mackay of Tordarroch, John Campbell of Barcaldine and Duncan Campbell one of the Sheriff Substitutes of Perthshire having conveened and inspected the writes evidents and Securities which pertain'd to and were found in the Repositorys of the said Deceast Colin Campbell, made upon Inventarys thereof and of the Stocking of Cattle which pertained to the said Colin Campbell, presently on the farms of Glenure and Glendurer as the Particular Inventary of the said writes as well relating to the ffactory held by the said Colin Campbell as other writes pertaining to him and found in

his repositorys and List or Inventary of the saids Stock of Cattle, the severall Docquets subscribed by us of this date subjoin'd to the saids severall Inventarys and Lists of Cattle, And ffurther recommend to the said Duncan Campbell to use the same Diligence as in his own affairs in Recovering paymt. of the Bills Delivered to him by and ffor which his receipt and obligemt. stands with me, the said John Campbell, and to lay out whatever money he may judge necessary to be debursed in detecting and prosecuting or in using ways and means to detect and prosecute the murderers of the said deceast Colin Campbell, and in carrying out the management of his ffarms and Estate, which we hereby ay and while the succession of the Estate of Glenure is declared committ to the management of the said Duncan Campbell, and in generall we authorize the said Duncan Campbell to ffollow ffurth and pursue during the space fforsaid every plan and scheme that may tend to the improvement and be considered as prudent management of the Estate Reall and personall which pertain'd to the said deceast Colin Campbell, Providing the same does not in the least tend to impair any part thereof, or change the nature of the securitys ffrom heretable to moveable or moveable to Heretable, and we subscribe these presents written by Mungo Campbell writer in Edinr. place and date foresaid."

NOTE.—The Inventory above referred to is headed "Inventory of Bills and other papers due to and Lodged in Trust with Glenure and found in his repository."

Most of the bills and accounts are for small amounts granted by tenants. There are a few of comparatively old date, one dated 17th June, 1730, granted by a tenant for £6 Scots, in favour of Patrick Campbell of Barcaldine, and another granted by another tenant to the same for £3 Scots, both payable on demand. Another bill, dated 7th January, 1737, granted by Mary Campbell, relict of the deceast Alexr. Campbell of Barcaldine, to Alexr. Campbell, son to Barcaldine, for £10 10s sterlg., payable Feby. then next. There are also mentioned two bundles of discharged accounts and tickets.

The docquet at foot is as follows, viz.:—

"The above and two preceding pages is an exast Inventary of the Bills and other papers therein referr'd to and whereof the numbers are mark'd on the margin of the Inventary and are all Deliver'd to the Keeping and for recovering of the Contents ffor behoof of all concerned to Duncan Campbell, one of the Sheriff-

Substitutes of Perthshire, who with us the other ffriends and relations of Glenure, viz., Hugh Mackay of Bighouse, William Baillie of Rosehall, John Mackay of Tordarroch and John Campbell of Barcaldine have examin'd and compared the same, He being always obliged to redeliver them and accott. for his Intromissions therewt. as accords. And the said Duncan Campbell and we subscribe this Docquet at Glenure the Twenty third Day of June IajvijC and fifty two years Before these witnesses Donald Campbell younger of Ballevolan and John Campbell youngetr of Raghray and John Campbell Elder of Ballevolan.

" sd. DONALD CAMPBELL witness.
" sd. JOHN CAMPBELL witness.
" sd. Jo. CAMPBELL.
" sd. JOHN MACKAY.
" sd. HUGH MACKAY.
" sd. WILL. BAILLIE.
" sd. DUN. CAMPBELL."

NOTES.—Glenduror—As to Glenduror, see Letter No. LXIV.

Mungo Campbell was a natural son of John of Barcaldine: he accompanied Glenure on his fatal expedition, was with him when he was murdered, and exclaimed, " The villain has killed my dear uncle."

NO. XLII.

COPPY Letter to Lord Justice Clerk, so docqueted: there is no date. It is probably a copy of a letter from John Campbell of Barcaldine, whose signature to the above document resembles the writing of the name 'Campbell' in the following letter, or rather copy of a letter, which is unsigned: probable date, July 1752.

" My Lord,—In the course of the Inquirie I have been making to find out the authors of my Broyrs. murder I am informed that James Stewart in Acharn, the Bastard Broyr. of Ardsheal, now prisoner att Fort William as Suspected of being principally concerned in Gleneur's murder, when in this town in Aprill last about getting a suspension of the Decreets of Removal, at Gleneur's instance against the Tenants of Ardsheal, Did visit James Drummond alias M'Gregor Prisoner in the Tolbooth of Edr., and after making frequent mention to the said James Drummond of Gleneur's name in an opprobrious manner Did propose to him a scheme of Disableing Gleneur from acting as factor upon the forfeited Estates, what he proposed was that James Drummond should give to him, James Stewart, a letter directed to Robert Campbell alias Macgregor, brother to the said

James Drummond (a person under sentence of fugitation) Desiring the said Robert to do whatever the said James Stewart desired him, particularly to murder Gleneur, for which purpose the said James Stewart was to furnish a very good gun, James Drummonds bribe was to get a prorogation of a Beneficial Tack he then enjoyed from a near relation of James Stewart's, to whom he was Tutor, the bribe to Robert was James Stewart's affording him money to carry him to ffrance, where by Ardsheal's interest he was to get a Commission in the ffrench service, or a pensione, whichever he chused.

"Your Lordship knows James Drummond's evidence can signify nothing in his present situatione, which is extremely unlucky, as he would make a most material witness against James Stewart, and otherways I am afraid the proof will be scrimp. I will not pretend to say more than Referr to your Lordship whether it is not really the Interest of the Government to Bring the Murderers of Gleneur to the end they deserve, as it is evident he lost his life for and in doing his duty. [On an enclosed slip is the following]:—'The Tryal of James Stewart at Inveraray is to come on the 21st of Sept. new style at which time James Drummond will be incapable of giving evidence unless he be first capacitated by a Pardon.'"

NOTE.—There is another scroll or draft of a letter in the same handwriting, without date, but probably written in 1755 (See No. LXIV. below), referring to an application made by the minister of Appin and Lesmore, at the instigation of Stewart's friends, for the form of Glenduror on the estate of Ardsheal, from which James Stewart had been removed at Whits. 1751, and which was in the joint possession of Balliveolan and Colin Glenure, at the time of the murder of the latter.

James Stewart of, or rather in, Acharn, known also as Seumas a Glinne, was tried as an accessory to Glenure's murder, and on very insufficient evidence found guilty, and was executed 8th Novr., 1752. Notes on his trial will be found in a paper by Mr Macphail, advocate, in Trans. Gael. Soc. of Inv., Vol. XVI., for 1889-90.

NO. XLIII.

LETTER from Colonel John Crawfurd to John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq., docqueted "12 July Letter John Crawfurd." [Note.—It is undated, but must belong to 1752].

"Dear Sir,—As it is probable I will not be in Town this night may I beg that in your writing to Inverary the 3 follg.

Questions may be put to Dougald M'Coll and inserted in his precognitions, 1st as to having seen Allan Breck in ye Brewhouse handling one of his master's guns and complaining of the locks. 2nd the time he saw young Allan going wth. Laggan How [i.e. Lagnaha] towards the wood on the day of the murder; and 3rd that both M'Colls shou'd be strongly dealt with as to the conversation mention'd by Dun. Roy in the prison and the causes for pitying young Allan, and why they thought he would be hang'd as well as his Fayr.

"I have wrote to F. William desiring Mercht. Roy, James and his son may all be precognosced about the Horn, and the Sergt. and party about Cloaths and horn. The M'Colls shou'd be again tax'd about the Horn.—I am allways, most faithfully yours, "JOHN CRAWFURD.

"Wednesday morng., 7 o'clock. 12th July."

NOTES.—Col. Crawfurd was Governor of Fort-William at the time James Stewart and his son, Allan, were conveyed there as prisoners on 16th May: he witnessed some of the depositions made by them in prison at the beginning of June, but was relieved by a new Governor early in July. Sergt. Baird of Col. Crawfurd's regiment was sent to search for, and found the clothes Allan Breck had worn the day of the murder and left hidden, when he resumed his own on the morning of the 18th, at Caolsnacon, on his way to Rannoch.

The M'Colls were two of James Stewart's servants, prisoners at Fort-William.

The horn mentioned was a powder horn found in the pocket of a coat worn by Allan Breck immediately after the murder.

The name of the tenant of Lagnaha was Alex. Stewart.

NO. XLIV.

LETTER from Duncan Campbell, Sheriff-Substitute of Perthshire, and later of Glenure, to his brother, John Campbell of Barcaldine, docqueted "My Broyr. Duncan's Letter wt. respect to Debursements."

"Ednr., 17th August, 1752.

"Dr. Br.,—As I must hurry to Breadalbane and Rannoch in order to precognosce some people there who there is reason to believe must have known some material circumstances anent Allan Breck's motions since our Broyr. Glen's murder [I] do hereby recommend to you to see all the accounts that are still

unpaid in town by us of Depursements in prosecuting the said murderers paid before you leave this place, and I'm yours &c.,

"DUN. CAMPBELL.

"To John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq."

NOTE.—Allan Breck succeeded in making his way to Rannoch after the murder; three witnesses testified at the trial of James Stewart that they had seen Breck in Rannoch about 18th or 20th May, or about the latter end of that month.

NO. XLV.

LETTER Mr George Mackay to John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq., so addressed to him "at Crieff by Edinr.," and marked "Free G. Mackay." Letter docqueted "Skibo, 8th Oct., 1752. Letter Mr Geo. Mackay."

"Skibo, 8th Oct., 1752.

"Dr. Sir,—I received yours from Inveraray by the express with the accts. of James Stewart's Tryal, which gave me the greatest satisfaction, as it must to those much less interested than me, yea to all Lovers of Mankind, that a Person guilty of so horrible a crime should suffer a Punishment he so justly deserves. I regrate I have not had the particulars of the tryal, and I am very anxious to know them, but in the necessary hurry you must have been in when you wrote to me, I could not look for your writing a full acct.

"I approve much of printing the Tryal. I have writt to Edinr. for a coppy of it when printed, and I'll have it in course. I and all friends have a just sense of the fatigue and trouble you must have had on this occasion, and how much the success we all wished for is oweing to your attention and Dilligence: you say it was not in my power to bear a part of the burden with you, wch. iff the tryal had happened at any other time than when it did, I would have done with the greatest chearfulness, and if there are any other Tryals to come on, I shall on the least notice attend them, and give all the assistance in my power. There is a Report here of such strong circumstances having come out in James Stewart's Tryal agst. his son, that he is soon to be try'd at Edinr. I beg you'll be so good as to acqt. me what is in this.

"All friends here join me in our kind compts. to you and family, and I am, Dr. Sir, your most obedt. most hble. sert.,

"GEO. MACKAY."

NOTE.—The above letter is evidently from the Hon. Geo. Mackay of Skibo, son of George, 3rd Lord Reay, by his 3rd marriage, and half-brother of the Hon. Hugh Mackay of Bighouse.

It is fortunate for James Stewart's reputation that the proceedings at his trial were printed.

NO. XLVI.

LETTER from Lieut. (or Capt.) Archibald Campbell to his brother, John Campbell of Barcaldine, Esq., so addressed, and to the care of Mr Hugh Campbell, merchant, a little below the Cross, Edinburgh, and docqueted "Limmerick 23 Oct. 1752. Letter Archd. Campbell."

"Limmerick Oct 23rd 1752.

"Dr. Br.,—This is my second letter from Limmerick. I was in hopes to have heard from you before now. I find by the English papers that one of the villains that murdered our poor brother is condemned. I'm sorry I have not a fuller account than I meet with in the papers: had my state of health been good or indeed as it was Had I the least notice from you or opinion myself that I cou'd be of use by crossing the water I wou'd have endeavour'd to gett leave. Allan sent me a letter from Robie of an old date: we have been an unfortunate ffamily for two years past; is there any hopes of hanging more of these Banditti was James Stewart supposed to be the man that shott poor Glenure is he a Brother of Ardsheals wont many of the people of that countrie be Banished how does my poor sister in law doe is she with child her situation must have been dreadful I intreat you'll write me as ffully of the Particulars of this Black affair as possible, since James Stewart's tryall has unravelled their Hellish plott. I hope your ffamilie are well and the rest of our ffriends, the Lord Glenorchy that now is I hope is well, he is allways the first in my prayers. I can not gett a proper opportunity of sending some slips of Cacogee to Taymouth, nott, I'm afraid, till we goe upon Dublin duty, which will be next year, we are so far from any correspondence with Scotland here, and they wou'd require some care, I can easily send them to Port Glasgow, the Collector there promised to take care of them. My health is much the same as it was, rather better time and the strict temperance I observe I believe will get the better of it, I have not had the least cough for a great while. I'm oblidged to be blooded now and then still, which is my only

complaint. I hope on the receipt of this you'l write me and not give me room to think myself quite forgott.—I am, Dr. Br., your affectionate Brother and humble Servant,

"ARCHD. CAMPBELL.

"P.S.—When I wrote you before I directed by Portpatrick, which is your side of the water, in place of Donahadee, throw mistak, tho' I fancy you must have gott my letter. This goes by Jock Innes, who came six miles out of his way to see me."

NO. XLVII.

LETTER Lord Breadalbane to John Campbell, Esq. of Barcaldine, docqueted "Edinr., 18 Nov., 1752. Letter Lord Breadalbane."

"Edinr., 18th Nov., 1752.

"Sir,—I received on Thursday your letter of the 11th. I don't know where it lay so long, nor how it came here, having been given in at the door to one of the servants by a person who said nothing further.

"I writt that same night by a man who was going to Taymouth to Achalader, and I bid him enquire particularly about the circumstances of Benmore, what Stewart asks for it, what I ought properly to give for it, and if money can be procured in the Countrey to pay for it. If you can solve any of these questions I wish you would send your opinion to John about it. It is certainly right for me to have it, but gold may be bought too dear, and I imagine Stewart will make no scruple of proportioning his demand to the conveniency it would be to me; which should be guarded against as much as we can.

"It is now just a month since I writt to London about the expenses of the Prosecution, but have had no answer, by which I imagine the Ch——r has not had an opportunity of speaking to Mr P—— about it. I mentioned it here to the D. of Arg., who is of opinion the Government ought to pay it, and indeed I imagine they will. His Grace leaves this place about Tuesday or Wednesday. He dined with me yesterday, and went afterwards to Brunstein, from whence he is to come in to-morrow evening. He intended to have been on the Bench Monday next upon the affair of Drummond's (Macgregor's) sentence, but he has taken care to prevent any consequences from it by escaping on Thursday evening out of the Castle. This makes a great noise, and I'm told the Jacobites say it was connived at by the D. of Arg. and the Adv. for offering his evidence against James Stewart, whereas neither the D. nor the Adv. have any influence

in the Castle. It is owing to the negligence of the Guard, which I believe will be strictly enquired into, and by what I can guess, he would have been hanged if he had not got off.

"We came in good time to town, I observed bad weather behind us, and snow on the Pentland Hills, which is sice gone, but I doubt if it will leave our mountains before June.

"Adieu Yrs. B———.

"I shall not set out for London till about the first day of next year. I have seen Js. Stewart's last speech; which I think makes it more necessary to print the Trial."

NOTES.—John Stewart in Glentiff, on Inveraw's estate, had purchased Benmore, in Breadalbane, from the Duke of Perth in 1744 or 1745.

The reference above to Drummond (M'Gregor) is, of course, to his escape from prison after being tried for his share in the abduction, by his brother Robert, of Jean Kay, six months after she became a widow, in 1750. He is generally spoken of as James Mor Drummond or Macgregor, and well known as a spy.

20th JANUARY, 1898.

TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL DINNER.

The Twenty-sixth Annual Dinner of the Society took place in the Caledonian Hotel this evening, under the presidency of the Right Hon. Lord Lovat, Chief of the Society. There was a large and representative attendance. His Lordship was supported by Sheriff Scott-Moncrieff, Dr Norman Macleod, Father Bisset, Father Macqueen, Father Macdonald, Marydale; Mr Wm. Mackay, solicitor; Mr James Barron, Mr J. L. Robertson, Councillor Alex. Mactavish, and Mr D. Mackintosh, secretary. The croupiers were Dr Alex. Ross and Rev. Mr Sinton, minister of Dores.

The customary loyal and patriotic toasts were given briefly from the chair. The Secretary then read a long list of apologies for absence from members of the Society, and submitted the Annual Report of the Executive, which was as follows:—The Council have again to report the close of another year of prosperity. Within it one life member, two honorary members, and thirty-three ordinary members joined the Society. The

total membership now is 417. During the year Volume XX. of the Society's "Transactions" was issued to the members; Volume XXI. is in the press, and will soon be issued. The income and expenditure for the year shows a balance to the credit of the Society of £26 6s 10d. The Council regret to have to record the death during the year of Captain Chisholm of Glassburn and Mr Macdonell of Morar, both old and enthusiastic members of the Society. They also greatly regret the serious illness of Mr Alexander Mackenzie, one of the Honorary Chieftains of the Society. Mr Mackenzie is one of the few who took a prominent part in the establishment of the Society, and he has from the beginning until now been one of its most prominent and useful members.

Lord Lovat, who was cordially received, rose to propose the toast of the evening—"Success to the Gaelic Society of Inverness." He said:—Gentlemen, the report we have just had read to us is, I think we must all agree, satisfactory in every way. The membership of the Society is increasing in the way it should increase. Every year we add more and more names to our list. The annually increasing numbers and the satisfactory nature of the report is a thing that may be expected, for, in the first place, in Mr Mackintosh we have a most admirable secretary. He devotes great time and trouble to the work, and it is a work, in the second place, which comes with great zest to us Highlanders. The work of the Society is one that appeals to us all. There is an innate love in every Highlander for the traditions of his country, for its stories and its folklore which are so rapidly disappearing, and its tales of former days which are in danger of being lost. These are cherished in the cottages more than we see them in some of our own homes. And there is always a danger that they may pass away simply through lack of being put on record. The Society in that way fulfilled a great void, which has been much felt in the past. The report records the deaths of two prominent members of the Society. Mr Eneas Macdonell lived on the West Coast, and he was not perhaps so well known here as Captain Chisholm, who, always in the kilt, was a well-known figure in the streets of Inverness, and a well-beloved friend of a great many of those here. His end was as Highland as the course of his life. The funeral was attended by friends, retainers, and clansmen. These friends he had made in ways which were typical of Scotsmen—on the hill, at the fishing, in pipe-playing, or on the shinty field. To the music of the pipes playing the "Land o' the Leal," he went to

his long home, followed, I am sure, by the sympathies of a vast number of Highlanders. As I was coming from Beauly to-day, the thought crossed my mind that for the first time in history one of my ancestors, about the 15th century, had to come to Inverness to meet James, King of Scotland. One could easily imagine his mixed feelings in being bidden to the banquet. No doubt, in the course of his journey, he felt qualms of conscience as to which of his many evil deeds demanded his appearance before the King. I cannot say myself that when I came to look at the menu on the table I expected to see the black bull's head amongst the dishes, but I felt qualms as I drove hither from Beauly. It is the first time I appear here, and I hope you will excuse my shortcomings. One gains experience at these dinners, and at first one is apt not to know exactly on what subject to address the meeting of the members of this Society. To return to the report, we are now publishing the 21st Volume of the Society's Transactions, and I am sure you will all agree with me that it is a great pity that instead of merely celebrating our silver jubilee we are not celebrating our golden jubilee. What tremendous losses we would have saved if the Society had been started forty or fifty years before. We have lost a tremendous lot, and our forefathers have a great deal to account for in not having taken the interest they should have done in preserving the old traditions of our Highland glens. We only know a few isolated facts. We know about the big battles, great events, and great occasions. We know about the '45, but of the actual daily life of the people and all about them we are as ignorant as the Egyptians or Babylonians. I say this with due deference, because in late years no country has been more written up or more ably dealt with than has been the history of our own Highlands. Each year we find that numbers of interesting books have been published about our Highland forefathers. This year a great many has appeared. We have, for instance, the Rev. Mr Macdonald, Kiltarlity's, book on the Macdonalds; we have the Duke of Atholl's History of the Rebellion; and we have another clan history from Mr Mackenzie. Therefore, castle, manse, and press each provides its quota to the general sum of information for the year. With reference to Mr Alexander Mackenzie, I am sorry he is rather worse to-day. I know he has the sympathy of every single member of this Society. Although I and some others differ from him in politics, we always have found him a most courteous adversary. His sense of humour and fund of anecdote would really permit him to hold any views

he put before us. I think it is customary to refer on these occasions to general business, and the leading facts which have occurred in our country during the year. I do not know of a more striking fact in the Highlands at the present moment than the tremendous growth of the railway this year and last year. The Aviemore line—that line promised from my infancy—which every year was going to run us into Inverness in an unheard-of time next year, or the year after, is really, I believe, to become an accomplished fact in June of 1898. We will be an hour nearer London, and, what is more important, the tourists will be an hour nearer us, and will have greater facilities to visit the Highland Capital. We will soon have a railway from Fort-William to Fort-Augustus, and from Fort-William to Mallaig, and visitors will be able to make a tour of the Highlands such as they have never been able to do before. Although we may not like tourists, they still leave amongst us a great deal of the gold they have accumulated in their Sassenach homes. The railway will also give the people an opportunity of disposing of their wares, whether it be agricultural produce or herrings, rapidly, and at a remunerative rate. I think this year marks a distinct era in the prosperity of the Highlands, and the fact should be received well by all of us here. I do not think any person can now speak at a gathering of Highlanders without noticing the gallant behaviour of the gay Gordons. As lately a soldier myself, I know the feeling throughout the whole army as to their behaviour at Dargai, of which we have had more or less garbled accounts in the press. The censorship of the press is now so rigorous that you cannot tell what is happening in a campaign. But when a regiment is applauded by all other regiments, we may be sure that they have done most gallantly. Another fact, which applies specially to us in this Society, is that the Society in Aberdeen rose immediately to raise funds for the widows and children of those who fell in that action. We ourselves have got a regiment very shortly going to Egypt. They are practically half-way up the Nile now. I am certain, should any misfortune come to them, no Society would come forward sooner to the assistance of the widows and children of these men than the Gaelic Society. I hope you will all fill your glasses to drink a bumper to the Society. It is one that brings all together —landlord and tenant, from town and country. It must promote good feelings amonst Highlanders, and when the day comes we will stand shoulder to shoulder as we have done in the past.

Dr Norman Macleod said:—My lord and gentlemen,—I

have been asked to propose the time-honoured toast of "Tir nam beann nan gleann 's nan gaisgeach." May I hope that there is no member of the Gaelic Society in such a deplorable state of ignorance that he is unable to pronounce, or even to translate, the famous words! If you should ever meet with one, I would advise you to require him instantly to surrender any pound notes of the Caledonian Bank he may happen to possess; for I consider that he has no right to retain that valuable piece of paper if he does not understand the ancient motto that is inscribed upon it. It has always seemed to me that the adoption of that motto is a striking proof of the faith which the founders of that useful institution had in the resources of the Highlands—at that time almost unknown, and certainly under-rated. I may, perhaps, be speaking to some imaginative individual who is disposed to tell me that this toast is a mere sentiment—that I might as well ask you to drink to the sun, moon, and stars as to the land of the mountains and glens. True, it is a sentiment; but, after all, this world is ruled by sentiment as well as by reason. I do not envy the man in whose nature there is no sentiment. "There are two mighty voices," says Wordsworth, "the mountains and the sea, which, for my present purpose, might be rendered the mountains and the glens, set in the midst of the encircling seas, which seem to linger lovingly around them ere they pass out, sending their tides far up among the hills in kyles and bays and sounds and lochs, than which there are none more beautiful in God's fair world. It is possible, no doubt, to travel through the Highlands, as thousands of Cockneyfied tourists do every year, without catching a whisper of these voices. But if the spirit of the mountains and the glens has ever touched us, we have learned them, and, whether consciously or not, they have left an impress on our thoughts, our feelings, our character, that can never be obliterated. The love of country, it has often been remarked, is a stronger passion among highland races, whether we find them in Scotland, in Ireland, in Wales, in Switzerland, or far away among the Himalayan range, than among any other people. God may expatriate our fellow-countrymen to the uttermost parts of the earth; but, go where they may, they never forget the land of their birth or the home of their fathers—

"From the dim sheiling on the misty island,
Mountains divide them and a world of seas;
But still their hearts are true, their hearts are Highland,
They in their dreams behold the Hebrides."

And no wonder. The mountain and the glen have voices of their own—voices of the winds, voices of the mists, voices of the streams, voices of the past, that are almost silent in the low countries. Nature has there the power, as it were, of clothing herself with a personality that make her a companion to all who can understand her varying moods, and can feel, though they cannot express, their appreciation of her incomparable glory and beauty. I will venture to say that, after its kind, there is no scenery on earth that can beat the scenery of our Northern and Western Highlands. It is no use to make comparisons between the scenery of one country and another. I know nothing more futile. Each may be perfect in its own way, and what is lacking in one place may be found in another. But, after its kind, "Tir nam beann nan gleann 's nan gaisgeach" holds its own unrivalled, and in many respects unsurpassable. Who ever saw the sun rising behind that splendid range of mountains that stretch from Ben-Nevis to Ben-Cruachan—that most graceful of all Highland bens—behind the "Shepherds of Etive" glen, and other hills which stand like sentinels around the dark Glencoe—or who that has seen the setting sun shedding her departing beams on the Coolin range, with the Squire of Eig and the serried peaks of Rum in the foreground of a sunlit sea, can ever forget it! I do not suppose that the mountains and the glens care much whether we drink to their health or not. But it is good for us to do so, because it is a kind of recognition of influences which have moulded our lives, and are the perennial fount of an inspiration which has become the very light of all our seeing. And, gentlemen, what shall I say of the people who dwell among the mountains and glens?—few—much fewer in number than they once were, I am sorry to say—but, I hope, still retaining those fine qualities which made so many of their fathers as noble specimens of humanity as could be found in any country in the world. To speak of them as "gaisgich," heroes, may seem rather "high falutin," but heroes there have been in every walk of life, and especially on the battlefield; and heroes, I believe, there are yet, if the occasion should arise. No doubt it is disappointing to hear that so few Highlanders now join the regular army. It is not wholly attributable to the sparseness of population, as is often alleged. One is half inclined sometimes to fear that poverty, hardship, sectarianism, material interests, and even in some instances oppression, are to some extent impoverishing the race, narrowing their sympathies, and dulling their sense of imperial greatness and responsibility.

Things happened during the first half of the present century that have left a scar on the memory of the people that cannot easily be effaced. But the old martial spirit is not dead, as was proved only a few weeks ago on the heights of Dargai. I know that the Gordons and our own Camerons are not all Highlanders, but many of them are, more than some people think, and probably very few have not a strain of Highland blood in their veins. And so strong is the tradition of courage, of endurance, of patriotism, and of loyalty among these men, that even a "Sassenach" cannot join a Highland regiment without becoming almost every inch of him a Highlander. No one can deplore more than I do some aspects of the painful agitation which has prevailed throughout the Highlands in recent years. But it has never surprised me that strong feeling was evoked, and when a strong feeling is evoked amongst a brave people, there are sure to be excesses here and there. I am not speaking as a political economist. I am well aware that there are laws operating in human affairs against which it is vain to fight. But nothing, in my opinion, can excuse the harsh, ruthless, and mercenary depopulation that took place at one time in some parts of the country. Whether it is possible to re-people some of these silent and desolated glens is a question which I do not presume to answer. The practical difficulties are enormous, probably in large measure insurmountable. I do believe this, however, that a brighter day has now dawned on the Highlands than has been seen for many a long year—a brighter day, I hope, for the impoverished landlords, as well as for the struggling and impoverished crofters. This at least is certain, that never before was there a more sincere desire on the part of the Legislature, of the Government, of the owners of the soil, and of the public generally to do whatever is possible to ameliorate the condition of the Highland people; and I feel sure that Highlanders will gratefully appreciate the efforts more and more, and go forward hopefully and courageously, industriously and peaceably, in that path of social and material improvement which seems to be opening up before them. Gentlemen, let us drink prosperity to the Highlands—"Tir nam beann nan gleann 's nan gaisgeach." Dr Macleod coupled the toast with the name of Rev. Mr Kennedy, Arran, who, he said, would return thanks for Goatfell and the surrounding mountains.

The toast was enthusiastically pledged.

Rev. Mr Kennedy said that in view of the warm reception of Dr Macleod's remarks, a reply of any sort was scarcely neces-

sary. He felt in the position of the minister who was told that "a worse man than you would have done if we could have got him." There were many abler men in the Society, for Dr Cameron Lees had written that in no town of its size was there more cultivated society, and no county had had more done to illustrate its history and its language than Inverness. He (Mr Kennedy) believed that a great deal of the truth of the compliment was due to the Gaelic Society. After making a few remarks on Celtic books recently published, he said that adverse remarks might conceivably be made not only about Gaelic literature, but about the literature of the present age, and these were that people were probably more concerned about books than they were about reading the classical masterpieces of genius. If we are the heirs of all ages, we ought not to forget our special indebtedness to the ages that are past. In the writing of Gaelic books, Dr Macleod's forefathers had laid the Highlanders under a debt that they ought never to forget.

Mr John Macleod, M.P., in giving the toast of "Highland Education," said that he believed they were on the threshold of a great educational movement, not only in the Highlands, but all over the country. He was sure that in that development the Highlands would be in the forefront. He thought that the Gaelic language ought to be encouraged more in schools than it was. He referred to the encouragement given by the Scotch Department, and quoted statistics, and said it was pleasing to be able to prove that the Department itself thought it possible to give encouragement to Gaelic. Mr Macleod spoke regarding what was done for Welsh, and concluded by coupling the toast with the name of Mr Robertson, a gentleman whose knowledge and experience in educational matters was well known.

Mr J. L. Robertson, H.M. Inspector of Schools, in replying, said he thought the subject of education was one that was appropriate at a meeting of that kind, although he, as an official, was restricted to speaking in very general terms on the subject. One thing he would say, and that was that the Education Department is not a legislative but a purely administrative body. Referring to Mr Macleod's remarks, he said he did not think the Gaelic language suffered so much in the educational sense as was indicated by the analogy with Wales. The circumstances differed. In Wales there were seven newspapers published in Welsh, and there was not one in the Highlands published in Gaelic. That fact was significant as to the desire of the people for the cultivation of the language. Industrially, Wales was

self-contained, whilst in the Highlands of Scotland our industries do not enable us to live and make home our exclusive field of operations. The Highlands are probably the most metropolitan part of Her Majesty's dominions, and one of the most gratifying things he had recently observed was the growing appreciation of education amongst the people.

There were a number of other toasts given, and, at the close, Mr William Mackay, solicitor, proposed the Chairman, and said that the family of Lovat were probably better known in the Highlands than any other family. They could not mention another race of noblemen who were so much in the mouth of the people, in the folk-lore, as the great family of Lovat. It was a pleasure to all to see the direct descendant of that ancient line presiding over the Gaelic Society of Inverness. In addition to these historical claims, Lord Lovat had personal claims upon them, and the manner in which he went amonst his people was worthy of being followed by other proprietors. Mr Mackay concluded by quoting a verse of a song upon the late Lord Lovat, which also applied to the Chairman—

"'S toigh leam fhéin àird do ghineadh,
A Shim oig Mhic ic Shimidh,
Co tha beò nach gabhadh gean art
Nuair a shealladh iad na d' aodainn!"

The toast was pledged with Highland honours.

Mr T. A. Mackay, banker, proposed the health of the Croupiers, Dr Ross and the Rev. Mr Sinton, and a successful meeting concluded with the singing of "Auld Lang Syne" by the whole company.

27th JANUARY, 1898.

The paper for this evening was contributed by the Rev. John Macrury, Snizort, entitled "Seana Bheachdan agus Seana Chleachdaidhean." Mr Macrury's paper was as follows:—

SEANA BHEACHDAN AGUS SEANA CHLEACHDAIDHEAN.—No. II.

Anns an àm a dh' fhalbh bha àireamh mhòr dhe 'n t-sluagh anns gach cearn dhe 'n t-saoghal a' làn-chreidsinn gu'n robh sìthichean ann, agus gu'n robh àiteachan-comhnuidh aca fo gach

cnocan bòidheach, uaine a bha anns gach àite bu shàmhaiche 's a b' iomallaiche na chéile a bh' anns an t-saoghal. Tha e 'na ni glé iongantach gu'm biodh a leithid so de bheachd cho cumanta am measg gach sluaigh fo 'n ghréin.

Tha iomadh neach beò gus an latha 'n diugh a tha gu làidir a' cumail am mach gu'n robh sìthichean ann 's an àm a dh' fhalbh, ged a tha iad ag aideachadh nach 'eil iad a nis ri 'm faicinn. Ach ma bha iad air an talamh 's an àm a dh' fhalbh, c'àite an deachaidh iad, no ciod a dh' éirich dhaibh? Mu 'n toir sinn oidhirp air na ceisdean so a fhreagairt feumaidh sinn an toiseach oidhirp a thoirt air cunntas a thoirt seachad mu thimchioll cò iad, agus cia mar a thachair dhaibh a bhith air an talamh.

Cha 'n 'eil teagamh nach rachadh aig gach sluagh a bha 'creidsinn gu'n robh sìthichean ann air cunntas a thoirt seachad mu 'n timchioll, ach tha aobhar againn a bhith 'creidsinn nach b' ann air an aon dòigh a dheanadh iad so. Mar a thachair dhaibh a thaobh chùisean eile, bha cinnich an t-saoghail a dh' atharrachadh barail mu 'n chùis so.

Cha robh na Gàidheil riamh air dheireadh air sluagh sam bith eile ann a bhith 'toirt am barail seachad mu gach ni iongantach a bhiodh iad a' faicinn 's a' cluinntinn mu 'n cuairt dhaibh. Mar shluagh, bha iad comasach air smaointean iongantach a dhealbh 'nan inntinnean a thaobh mòran nithean. A thaobh nan sìthichean, bha na Gàidheil a' creidsinn, ged a bha iad ann an cruth 's an coslas dhaoine, agus ann an iomadh dòigh a' tighinn beò mar a bha daoine, nach bu daoine nàdarra a bh' annta idir. Bha iad a' creidsinn gu'm b' iad na sìthichean earrann dhe na h-ainglean a thuit o 'n ceud inbhe, agus ged a lean iad prionnsa an dorchadais an uair a dh' fhuadaicheadh am mach a nèamh e, a chionn gu'n d' rinn e ar-am-mach an aghaidh Dhé, nach robh de chionta ri chur as an leith ach gu'n do lean iad e gun smaointean ciod a bha iad a' deanamh. A chionn nach robh an cionta ach beag an coimeas ri cionta na h-àireimh mhòir eile a thuit o 'n ceud inbhe, an àite an druidéadh a steach ann an ionad a' bhroin 's na truaighe mar a rinneadh air na h-ainglean a bha na bu chiontaiche na iad, is ann a dh' fhuadaicheadh a dh' ionnsuidh na talmhainn iad, far an robh aca ri bhith 'gabhail comhnuidh gu là a' bhreitheanais.

Ach cha b' e so uile am peanas a chaidh a leagadh orra. Ann an iomadh dòigh thugadh uapa mòran dhe 'n saorsa. Ged a bha na h-àiteachan-comhnuidh a bh' aca anabarrach mòr, farsuinn, agus ged a bha iad, a réir choltais, a' sealbhachadh

gach ni a bhiodh feumail dhaibh, gidheadh, bha e soilleir do gach neach a chuir eòlas orra, no a chuala mu 'n déidhinn, nach robh iad toilichte le 'n staid. Cha b' e mhàin gu'n robh biadh is aodach gu leòr aca, ach bha iad a' cur seachad mòran dhe 'n ùine leis gach subhachas is toil-inntinn a mhiannaicheadh iad. Bha 'n solus bu bhoillsgeile a chunnaic sùil duine riamh aca 'nan àiteachan-comhnuidh; bha 'n ceòl bu bhinne, a chuala cluas riamh aca; agus a réir mar a chuala sinn, bha iad anabarrach déidheil air a bhith 'dannsa. Shaoileadh daoine gu'm bu chòir dhaibh a bhith anabarrach toilichte le 'n staid; oir cha robh a bheag de thrioblaidean cumanta na beatha so a' cur dragh' orra. Bha àiteachan-comhnuidh tioram, seasgair, blàth aca; cha robh éis bidh no aodaich orra; bha iomadh seòrsa toil-inntinn aca; cha robh iad riamh air an sàrachadh le obair thruim; cha robh màl no cìs aca ri phàigheadh; cha chuireadh maor, no bàillidh, no uachdaran dragh no tuairgneadh orra aig àm sam bith; a dh' aon fhacal, cha robh creutair beò air an talamh a bha cho saor o dhraghainnan, 's o thrioblaidean, 's o amhghairean, 's o chùraman na beatha so riutha. Ach ged a bha 'chùis mar so, bha farmad gu leòr aca ris na daoine bu bhochdainne crannachur a bh' air an talamh gu léir.

C'ar son a bha so mar so? Bha, do bhrìgh gu'n robh iad ag amharc orra fhein mar phrìosanaich aig nach robh dòchas sam bith gu'm faigheadh iad an saorsa gu bràth.

Tha eachdraidh ag innseadh dhuinn gu'n do thachair nithean iomadh uair air an talamh a tha 'nochdadh dhuinn c'ar son a bha na sìthichean mi-thoilichte le 'n staid. Aig àm eogaidh, an uair a tha rìgh no prìonnsa air a ghlacadh, agus a shaorsa mar rìgh no mar phrìonnsa air a toirt uaithe, ged a b' i an lùchairt bu mhò 's bu mhaisiche a bhiodh air an t-saoghal a b' àite comhnuidh dha, gidheadh, bhiodh e gu nàdarra ag amharc air fhein mar phrìosanach; eadhoin ged a bhiodh a bhiadh is aodach 's a leaba cho math 's a bha iad latha riamh 'na bheatha, agus ged a bhiodh e air a chuartachadh le greadhnachas ro mhòr, agus a' faotainn gach frithealaidh air am biodh a leithid dligheach.

Cha 'n 'eil ni anns an t-saoghal a's luachmhoire ann an sealladh duine na saorsa. Cha toir ionmhas an t-saoghail gu léir, ged a bhiodh e aig duine, fìor shonas dha, ma bheirear a shaorsa uaithe. Agus iadsan aig nach 'eil dòchas gu'm faigh iad saorsa aimsireil no spioradail, cha 'n 'eil e 'na ioghnadh ged a bhiodh iad mi-shona.

A réir mar a chuala sinn, bha na sìthichean ann an iomadh dòigh coltach ri daoine an t-saoghail so na 'n cruth, na 'n nàdar, na 'n aignidhean, na 'm miannan, agus na 'n cleachdaidhean. Bha tlachd gu leòr aca do chuid dhe 'n chinne-daon, agus bha iomadh sgeul air aithris mu thimchioll a' chaoimhneis a bha iad a' nochdadh, agus an fhrithealaidh a bha iad gu tric a' deanamh do dhaoine. Cha bhiodh mòr-fheum dhuinn aig an àm so iomradh a thoirt air gach sgeul a bh' air aithris mu'n déidhinn, eadhoin ged a bhiodh iad air chuimhne againn.

Ach tha 'chuis coltach gu'n robh iad fo fhiachan obair a dheanamh air làithean àraidh, na 'n cuirteadh mu 'n coinneamh e, ged nach biodh toil sam bith aca làmh a chur innte. Faodaidh sinn aon naigheachd innseadh mu dhéidhinn so.

Bha duine àraidh air taobh an iar Uidhist mu thuath do 'm b' ainm Fearachar. Bha 'n duine so, mar is minic a bha fear a bharrachd air, 'na dhuine leasg, somalta nach deanadh mòran obrach nam faigheadh e daoine eile a dheanadh air a shon i. Anns a' gheamhradh chuir e cruach mhath arbhair a steach do 'n t-sabhal. Thachair dha radh gu'm b' fhearr leis gu'n robh a h-uile sìthiche a bh' anns an t-sìthean a bha faisge air a' bhaile anns an robh e aige gus gu'm buaileadh iad an t-arbhar dha. Chuala na sìthichean e, oir tha e coltach gu'n robh claisneachd mhath aca. A bharrachd air so, tha e coltach gu'n robh comas aca air a bhith làthair am measg dhaoine ged nach robh e comasach do dhaoine am faicinn.

A nis, tha e air aithris gu'n robh aon latha 's an t-seachdain air am feumadh iad obair sam bith a dh' iarrteadh orra a dheanamh, co dhuibh a bhiodh iad toileach no nach bitheadh. B' e 'n latha so, mur do mheall mo chuimhne mi, Di-sàthairne. B' e so an latha air an do thachair do Fhearachar an òrdachadh. Agus cha bu luaithe a dh' òrdaich e iad na thàinig iad 'nan ceudan gu dorus an t-sabhail, agus iad uile a' glaodhaich, "Obair, obair, 'Fhearachair."

Ghabh Fearachar an t-eagal an uair a chunnaic e na thàinig dhiubh. Bha fhios aige gu'n robh a bheatha ann an cunnart mur tugadh e obair gu leòr dhaibh an déigh dha an òrdachadh. An uair a leig e steach do 'n t-sabhal a' mheud 's a shaoileadh e a gheibheadh àite gu leòr ann gu bualadh an arbhair, thuirt e ris an fheadhain a b' fhaisge air an dorus, "Cumaibh am muigh na bhios ag iarraidh tighinn a steach, agus cumaibh a staigh na bhios ag iarraidh a dhol am mach."

Chuir Fearachar na fir a bh' anns an t-sabhal gu obair. An àite an cur a bhualadh mar a bha dùil aige dheanamh, is ann a

thug e orra teannadh ri spioladh an t-sìl bhar an fhodair. Bha iad ann cho lionmhor, agus bha iad cho ealanta air an obair 's nach robh iad ùine mhòr sam bith ris an obair a bh' aca ri dheanamh. An déigh dhaibh an siol a thoirt uile bhar an arbhair, thug e orra am fodar a chrathadh 's a cheangal. An uair a bha iad ullamh dhe so, thug e orra an siol a chathadh le 'n anail. Mu dheireadh bha 'n obair a bh' aige ri dheanamh deiseil. Thug iad uile an aon ghlaodh asda, ag ràdh, "Obair, obair, 'Fhearachar."

A nis, mur faigheadh iad obair gu leòr uaithe, bheireadh iad a bheatha dheth. Ach ged a bha Fearachar leasg, bha e gle' ghleusda, mar is minic a bha fear dhe 'sheòrsa. An uair a chunnaic e gu'n robh iad thuar a dol an sas ann gus a mharbhadh, dh' òrdaich è dhaibh a dhol a dh' ionnsuidh a' chladaich, agus sugan gaineamhaich a dheanamh. An uair a chual' iad so, dh' fhalbh iad gu bog, balbh, agus cha 'n fhaca e riamh tuilleadh iad.

Ged a bha na sìthichean mar bu trice deas gu cuideachadh a dheanamh le daoine a bhiodh 'nan eiginn, gidheadh bha iad goimheil, gamhlasach gu leòr an uair a chuirteadh corruich orra. Cha robh ni bu mhò a chuireadh de chorruich orra na bhith 'gan caineadh air chùl an cinn. Cha bhiodh e sàbhailte aon fhacal a ràdh mu 'n déidhinn aig àm sam bith. Mar a dh' ainmicheadh mar tha, rachadh aca air a bhith làthair ann an iomadh àite ged nach biodh e an comas do dhaoine am faicinn. B' e so aon de na cumhachdan a dh' fhàgadh aca an uair a dh' fhuadaicheadh a dh' ionnsuidh na talmhainn iad. Tha 'n t-ainm a bh' aig daoine orra 'g a dhearbhadh so. B' e "sìthichean," no "daoine sìthe," no "daoine matha," a theirteadh gu cumanta riutha. Cha tugadh na h-ainmeannan so oilbheum sam bith dhaibh.

A reir mar a chualas, tha e coltach gu'n robh aon latha 's an t-seachdain air am faoidteadh labhairt le tàir agus le suarachas mu'n déidhinn. B' e an latha so, Di-haoine. Mar a theirteadh gu cumanta, "Is e 'n diugh Di-haoine 's cha chluinn iad sinn." Gun teagamh sam bith, 'nan tachradh dhaibh a bhith làthair gu corparra, chluinneadh iad ciod a theireadh daoine mu 'n déidhinn. Ach air Di-haoine cha robh e 'n comas dhaibh iad fhein a dheanamh neo-fhaicsinneach. A reir barail dhaoine, b' ann a chionn gu'n do cheusadh Criosd air Di-haoine a chaill na sìthichean an comas a bh' aca air làithean eile air iad fhein a dheanamh neo-fhaicsinneach. Air an latha ud thug Criosd le a bhàs buille-bhàis do chumhachdan an dorchadais; agus o 'n a

bhuineadh na sìthichean do rìoghachd an dorchadais, dh' fhairich iad a' bhuille gu trom, gu sonraichte air a h-uile Di-haoine.

Tha mòran a bharrachd air aithris mu thimchioll nam mnathan na mu thimchioll nam fear. Bhiodh na fir tric gu leòr ag obair aig daoine, an uair a dh' òrdaicheadh daoine iad mar a rinn Fearachar, agus iomadh fear a bharrachd air. Ach bhiodh na mnathan gu math tric ri 'm faicinn ann an iomadh àite, agus bha iad a' cheart cho deas gu cuideachadh is comhnadh a dheanamh le daoine a bhiodh 'nan éiginn 's a bha na fir fhein. Cha 'n 'eil e 'n comas dhuinn a bheag a ràdh mu thimchioll cruth is coslas nam fear. Ach is e barail na muinntir a dh' innseadh na b' aithne dhaibh mu 'n déidhinn, nach robh annta ach daoine beaga, meata, air nach robh maise no tlachd mòr sam bith ri 'm faicinn. A réir choltais gu'n robh cuid dhuibh air am faicinn ann an riochd fìor sheann daoine. Ach cha chualas riamh gu'n d' fhuair a h-aon dhiubh bàs leis an aois. Ach ma bha h-aon dhe na mnathan-sìthe air an robh coltas aosda, cha do leig iad iad-fhein fhaicinn r'amh do shluagh an t-saoghail so. An dara cuid bha iad aig gach àm a' fuireach anns na sìtheanan, air neo bha iad 'g an cur fhein ann an riochd mhnathan òga.

Cha robh a h-aon dhe na mnathan-sìthe, cho fad 's is aithne do dhaoine, 'n am boirionnaich dhuaichnidh. Bha iad uile dìreach, deas, dealbhach, agus glé sgiamhach ri amharc orra. Cha mhò a chualas gu'n robh a h-aon dhiubh riamh trom ann am feoil. Cha 'n fhacas riamh air a h-aon dhiubh ach trusgan uaine. Agus cha mhò a chunnacas àireamh mhòr dhiubh comhladh riamh. An àm do dhaoine bhith 'g innseadh gu'm faca iad té dhiubh, theireadh iad, gu'm faca iad " bean chaol a' chòt' uain."

Cho fad 's is fhiosrach daoine, cha chualas riamh gu'n do thuit aon de mhnathan an t-saogail so ann an gaol air sìthiche. Is cinnteach nam biodh iad 'nan daoine dreachar gu'n tuiteadh te fhaoin air choireiginn ann an gaol air fear dhiubh; oir tha cuid de bhoirionnaich ann a tha cho faoin 's gu'n gabh iad gaol air fear sam bith. Ach is dòcha nach robh na boirionnach cho faoin 's an àm a dh' fhalbh 's a tha iad anns an àm so.

Ach ma's fhìor na chuala sinn, thuit iomadh fear ann an gaol air na mnathan-sìthe, agus phòs cuid dhiubh iad. B' ainneamh a bha fear riamh toilichte an déigh dha bean-shìthe a phòsadh, eadhoin ged a bhiodh gaol anabarrach mòr aige oirre mu 'n do phòs e i. Cha d' rinn té dhiubh bean-taighe mhath riamh. Bhiodh iad cho neo-steidheil 's nach fhanadh iad aig na taighean. Cha bhiodh iad toilichte mur biodh iad a' falbh o àite gu àite

mar a tha cuid dhe na mnathan guanach, neo-stéidheil a tha cho pailt anns an t-soaghal gus an latha 'n diugh. Rud eile dheth, cha do rug 's cha d' àraich bean-shìthe sliochd riamh.

Cha 'n 'eil cunntas againn gu'n robh na sìthichean a' pòsadh 'n am measg fhein idir. Cha chuala sinn ciod a b' aobhar dha so, ach tha chùis coltach gu'n robh e fior gu leòr.

Ach ged nach robh e comasach do na mnathan-sìthe sliochd a bhreith no arach, bha iad anabarrach gaolach air cloinn bhig, gu h-àraidh air gillean beaga. Bu tric leotha 'bhith 'goid chloinne bige air falbh an uair a gheibheadh iad an cothrom. Ach an uair a bheireadh iad leotha clann bheag, dh' fhàgadh iad seann daoine dhiubh fhein ann an riochd chloinn bige 'nan àite. Bha iomadh naigheachd air an aithris mu dhéidhinn so, ach fòghnaidh dhuinn an naigheachd a leanas innseadh mar dhearbhadh gu'n robh cuid dhe 'n t-sluagh a' toirt geill is creideis dhaibh gus o chionn ghoirid.

Bha bean àraidh ann aig an robh leanabh gille a bha anabarrach maiseach anns gach dòigh. Bha 'n leanabh so a' fàs gu math, agus glé shoirbh ri 'àrach gus an robh e mu bhliadhna dh' aois. An sin thòisich e ri cnàmh 's ri dhol as, agus ri fàs anabarrach greannach, crosda, duilich ri cur suas leis. Dh' fhàs e cho bruidhneach 's cho seanagarra 'na dhòighean ri fìor sheann duine. Dh' itheadh is dh' òladh e mar a bheirteadh dha. Cha b' aill leis a chas a chur air làr gu ceum coiseachd a dheanamh. Bha na coimhearsnaich ag ràdh ri' mhàthair gu'n robh iad cinnteach gur e sìthiche a bh' ann; ach cha chreideadh i iad. Ged a bha i 'faicinn gu'n robh an leanabh air fàs caol, mi-thuarail, greannach, crosda seach mar a bha e 'n toiseach, bha i 'toirt oirre fhein a chreidsinn gu'm faodadh gur e galair cùim àraidh a bha cur dragh' air. Ach mu dheireadh bhuail e anns a' cheann aice gur e sìthiche a bh' ann gun teagamh, o nach cual' i e riamh a' gearain cràidh no goirteis.

Mu dheireadh chaidh i far an robh seann duine glic a bh' anns a' bhaile, agus dh' innis i dha mu 'n leanabh. "Is docha gur e sìthiche a th' ann, ach tha na sìthichean cho gleusda 's nach 'eil e furasda an cur as am faireachadh," ars' an seann duine. "Ma thèid againn air an leanabh a chur as 'fhaireachadh, ni mise am mach co dhuibh is e sìthiche a th' ann no nach e. Bi thusa 'falbh, agus faigh naoi sligean mòra bhàirneach, agus an uair a théid thu dhachaidh cuiridh tu mòr thimchioll an teine iad agus eibhlean teine fòdhpa. Lionadh tu le uisge iad. An uair a dh' fheòraicheas an leanabh dhiot ciod am feum a tha thu 'dol a dheanamh dhe na sligean, théir thu ris,

gur e soithichean-togala 'th' annta. Ma 's e do leanabh fhein a th' ann cha ghabh e ioghnadh sam bith; ach ma 's e sìthiche a th' ann, gabhaidh e ioghnadh gu leòr. An uair a chuireas tu na naoi sligean timchioll an teine theid thu 'mach agus seallaidh tu steach air uinneag chul an taighe feuch ciod a théir no 'ni e. Thig thu far am bheil mise, agus innsidh tu dhomh ciod a chi 's a chluinneas tu."

Mu 'n do thill a' bhean dhachaidh fhuair i na naoi sligean bhàirneach. Chuir i thimchioll an teine iad dìreach mar a dh' iarr an seann duine oirre, agus lion i le uisge iad. Thog am fear a bh' anns a' chreidhil a cheann agus thuirt e, "A mhathair, ciod a tha thu 'dol a dheanamh leis na sligean bhàirneach sin?"

"So agad, a luaidh, soithichean-togala. Dean thusa foighidin, agus bidh stuth a's treise na'n t-uisge againn ri òl an ùine gun bhith fada. Tha mise 'falbh a dh' iarraidh tuilleadh shligean, agus cha bhi mi fada gun tighinn," ars' a' bhean.

Chaidh i am mach as an taigh, agus dhùin i an dorus. Chaidh i gun dàil sam bith thun na h-uinneig-chùil. Cha robh i fad' aig an uinneig an uair a chunnaic i esan ag éirigh as a' chreidhil. Chaidh e 'na sheana bhodach beag, liath, air an robh coltas a bhith glé laidir, calama. Ghabh e far an robh na sligean bhàirneach a bha timchioll an teine, agus thòisich e ri tumadh a mheòire annta, agus ri ràdh, an uair a chuireadh e 'na bheul i, "Tha mise deich mile bliadhna dh' aois agus is iomadh rud iongantach a chunnaic mi, ach cha 'n fhaca 's cha chuala mi riamh gus an diugh a bhith deanamh soithichean-togala de shligean bhàirneach. Cha 'n 'eil dad de bhias stuth làidir air deur dhe na bheil an so." An uair a thuirt e so chaidh e do 'n chreidhil ann an riochd leinibh mar a bha e roimhe.

Thug na chunnaic 's na chual' i aig an uinneig air a' mhnaoi a làn chreidsinn gur e sìthiche a bh' aice 's a' chreidhil, agus nach b' e a leanabh fhein. Agus ghrad dh' fhalbh i far an robh an seann duine, agus dh' innis i dha na chunnaic 's na chual i.

"Till dhachaidh 's a' mhionaid," ars' esan, "agus dean cheangal nan tri chaol air. Thoir leat thun a' chladaich e, agus fàg an oir na tuinne e. An uair a thig an lionadh, tòisichidh e ri glaodhaich. Agus ged nach urrainnear a bhàthadh, gidheadh, thig na sìthichean eile 'ga iarraidh. An uair a thilleas tu dhachaidh bidh do leanabh fhein a staigh romhad."

Rinn i mar a chomhairlich an seann duine dhi, agus an uair a thill i dhachaidh bha 'mac fhein gu slàn, fallainn roimpe a staigh.

B' ainneamh a chunnacas riamh sìtheanan fosgailte air an latha; ach bu tric le daoine am faicinn fosgailte air an oidhche,

gu h-àraidh anns a' gheamhradh. Ged a chunnaic mòran fosgailte iad, cha robh de mhisnich ach aig fìor bheagan na chaidh a steach annta. Chaidh cuid a steach, ma's fhior mar a chuala sinn, nach d' thàinig am mach riamh, do bhrigh gu'n do dhichuimhnich iad an dorus a chumail fosgailte. Fear sam bith a rachadh a steach, dh' fheumadh e, nam biodh toil aige tighinn am mach, sgian, no tairig, no iarunn biorach sam bith eile a stobadh ann an ursann an doruis. Bha e air a ràdh, gu'n robh an t-iarunn beannaichte do bhrigh gur ann leis a lotadh làmhan, casan, agus taobh an t-Slanuighir, agus air an aobhar sin, nach robh e an comas do na sìthichean an làmh a chur air.

Cha d' fhàgadh cunntas againn mu thimchioll ni sam bith a bha 'n taobh a staigh dhe na sìtheanan. Iadsan uile a chaidh a steach annta, bha 'n aire cho buileach air a togail leis a' cheòl, leis an dannsa, agus leis a h-uile sùgradh a bha 'dol air aghart annta 's nach do ghabh iad beachd air ni sam bith eile. Bha 'n solus a bh' annta anabarrach boillsgeil. Cha chualas riamh ciod an seòrsa soluis a bh' ann. Ma dh' fhaoidte gur e an soluis dealrach, ùr a fhuaradh am mach o chionn àireamh bhliadhnachan, agus a tha nis ri fhaicinn air sràidean bhailtean mòra, agus ann an taighean nan àrd-uaislean, a bh' ann. Air aon ni tha fios againn, agus is e sin, nach robh eòlas sam bith aig a' chinne-daoin' air an t-solus so gus an do sguir daoine bhith 'faicinn nan sìthichean. Is e an solus dealain a tha sinn a' ciallachadh. Tha 'n duine glic ag ràdh, nach 'eil ni ùr sam bith fo 'n ghréin, agus ged nach 'eil ùine fhada o 'n a fhuaradh am mach an solus so, bha e anns a' chruthachadh o thòiseach an t-saoghail.

A réir mar a chualas, b' e an fhiodhall an t-inneal-ciùil a bh' aig na sìthichean. Tha e coltach gu'n robh iad na'n luchd-ciùil anabarrach math. Cha 'n fhiosrach sinn gu'm bheil a h-aon dhe na puirt a bhiodh iad a' cluich air chuimhne gus an latha 'n diugh.

Tha aobhar againn a bhith 'creidsinn gu'n robh tomhas mòr de dhìmeas aig na Gàidheil o shean air ceòl na fìdhle, agus tha amharus againn gur ann a chionn gu'm b' e an fhiodhall an t-inneal-ciùil a bh' aig na sìthichean a thachair so. Ged a bha iad 'nan coimhearsnaich mhodhail, iomchuidh gu leòr fhad 's nach cuirteadh dragh no tuairgneadh orra, gidheadh cha robh toil aig daoine bhith 'leantuinn an eisiomplair no an cleachdaidhean ann an dòigh sam bith. B' e a' phìob an t-inneal-ciùil air an robh meas aig na Gàidheil, oir b' i inneal-ciùil a' chogaidh. Dh' fhaoidteadh a seinn air na cnuic cò dhiubh a bhiodh an

t-sìde fluich no tioram, fuar no blàth. Cha b' ionnan sin 's an fhiodhall; cha b' inneal-ciùil i a bha freagarrach air son a bhith 'g a cluich am muigh air na cnuic. Agus o nach cluinnteadh air astar fad' air falbh i, cha bu cheòl i a dhùisgeadh spiorad a' chogaidh ann an inntinn duine sam bith.

Am feadh 's a bha meas air a phìobaire, bha dìmeas air an fhìdhleir. Cuiridh an rann a leanas solus air so:—

> " Fidhlear is taillear is cat,
> Breabadair is greusaich' is muc,
> Maighstir-sgoil' is cearc."

Bhiodh am fidhlear 's an taillear, mar a bhiodh an cat, ri taobh an teine mar bu trice, agus anns an t-seann aimsir cha robh meas mòr air fear sam bith ach fear treun, tapaidh, a chothaicheadh e fhein air muir 's an tìr. Ach is ann glé bheag, lag, meata a bhiodh fear mur rachadh aige air port a chur air fidhill, no aodach fhuaghal 's e na shuidhe ri taobh an teine. Dheanadh sìthiche meata fhein so.

Bhiodh am breabadair salach le àrmadh an t-snàth a bhiodh e 'fighe; agus bhiodh an gréusaiche salach le olla 'n leathair; agus, mar bu trice, cha bhiodh anns a' mhaighstir-sgoile ach duine dis, meata, a dh' fheumadh a dhol fo fhasgadh an uair a shileadh an t-uisge, mar a dheanadh a' chearc.

Ma bha gus nach robh an uine 'dol seachad gun fhios do na sìthichean cha 'n 'eil e furasda dheanamh am mach. Ach tha e air aithris gu'n robh an uine 'dol seachad gun fhios gun fhaireachadh do na daoine a bha 'dol a steach do na sìtheanan. Faodar an sgeul a leanas innseadh mar dhearbhadh air so:—

Anns an àm a dh' fhalbh, bha mòran dhe na Gàidheil a' deanamh uisge-beatha gun fhiosda, agus na 'm faigheadh na " gaugeran" fios air, rachadh an glacadh agus càin a chur orra. Dh' fhéumadh an fheadhainn a bhiodh 'ga cheannach a bhith 'cheart cho faicleach ris an fheadhainn a bhiodh 'ga dheanamh; oir na'n rachadh an glacadh chuirteadh càin orra mar an ceudna.

Bha duine àraidh ann aig an robh duil ri leasachadh teaghlaich, agus o 'n a b' e a' cheud leanabh a bh' ann, bha toil aige deur math de mhac na braiche a bhith aige 'san taigh; oir bha e 'na chleachdadh anns an àm ud feusd a dheanamh an uair a bhiodh leanabh air a bhreith. B' e, " Uirlean," an t-ainm a bha gu cumanta air an fheusd so. Bha aig an duine so ri dhol air astar math fada dh' iarraidh an uisge-bheatha. Dh' fhalbh e

as an taigh am beul anamoch na h-oidhche, agus bha aige ri dhol troimh mhonaidhean 's troimh gharbhlaichean mu'n ruig-eadh e a' bhothag anns an robhas a' deanamh an uisge-bheatha. Bha e 'na dhuine làidir, tapaidh a choisicheadh air comhnard 's air garbhlach cho math 's cho sunndach ri fear a bha beò ri' latha 's ri linn. Agus ma bha bhothag fada uaithe, cha robh e fada 'ga ruighinn. O 'n a bha aige ri tilleadh dhachaidh an oidhche sin fhein, cha d' rinn e mòran dàlach anns a' bhothaig. Faodar a bhith cinnteach gu'n d' fhuair e de mhac na braiche na fhliuch a dhà shuil cho luath 's a ràinig e, oir cha robh luchd nam poitean-dubha, mar a theirteadh gu cumanta ris an fheadh. ainn a bhiodh a' deanamh an uisge-bheatha gun fhiosda, riamh mosach no spìocach mu 'n uisge-bheatha.

Mu' n d' fhalbh e, dh' òl e lan no dhà na slige gus lùths is beothachadh a chur 'na chom agus mìsneach a chur 'na chridhe 's 'na inntinn.

Air eagal gu'n tachradh duine sam bith ris air a thilleadh, ghabh e an rathad a b' uaigniche a b' urrainn e thaghadh. An uair a bha e mu leitheach rathaid, chual' e an ceòl a b' àille 's bu bhinne a chual' a chluas riamh. Thuig e anns a' mhionaid gur ann 's an t-sìthean a bha 'n ceòl. Bha e gu nàdarra 'na dhuine a bha gu math saor o fhiamh 's o eagal, agus air shàilleamh na dh' òl e mu 'n d' fhalbh e as a' bhothaig, bha e 'g a fhaireachadh fhein cho làidir 's cho misneachail 's nach cuireadh na bha de shìthichean 's de "ghaugearan" anns an t-saoghal biorgadh eagail air. Ghabh e dìreach thun an t-sìthean. Mu 'n deach-aidh e steach stob e an sgian ann an ursann an doruis. Bha 'n t-ancar uisge-bheatha a cheannaich e ann an cliabh air a mhuin, agus o 'n a bha toil aige faighinn dhachaidh mu 'n soilleirich-eadh an latha, cha do leig e dheth an cliabh idir, ach sheas e far an robh e faisg air an dorus fhad 's a bha na sìthichean a' deanamh aon ruidhle dannsa.

An uair a sguir an dannsa ghrad thill e 'mach, agus thug e an sgian as an ursainn, agus thug e 'aghaidh air an taigh. Ar leis nach robh e bhar ceathramh na h-uarach, air a chuid a b' fhaide, anns an t-sìthean.

Choisich e dhachaidh le deadh cheum. An uair a thàinig e ann an sealladh an taighe, ghabh e ioghnadh nach robh e 'faicinn soluis as. Bha e 'smaointean gu'm faodadh tinneas a bhith ann, o 'n a bha dùil a h-uile latha ri leasachadh teaghlaich. Rud eile dheth, bha e 'smaointean gu'm bu chòir do neach eiginn a bhith air a chois co dhiubh o 'n a bhiodh dùil aca ris fhein dhachaidh.

An uair a ràinig e an dorus fhuair e air a chrannadh gu teann e. Ghrad bhuail e an dorus gu cruaidh, agus ghlaodh e riutha a ghrad leigeadh a steach. Bha 'bhean 'na cadal gu trom anns an leabaidh 'san àm, ach an uair a dhùisg am bualadh 's a' ghlaodhaich i, ghrad dh' éirich i a dh' fhosgladh an doruis. Mu 'n do dh' fhosgail i e, thùirt i, "Co sid?"

"Tha mise," ars' esan, "fosgail thusa an dorus. Tha mi seachd sgìth a' giùlan an eallaich so o thàinig an oidhche."

"Feumaidh mi fios fhaotainn cò th' ann mu 'm fosgail mi 'n dorus," ars' ise.

"Gu sealladh ni math ort," ars' esan, "am bheil thu idir 'gam aithneachadh? Nach 'eil fhios agad gu'n dubhairt mi riut an uair a dh' fhalbh mi anamoch an raoir, gu'n tillinn cho luath 's a gheibhinn mo ghnothach? Tha mi air mo shàrachadh fo 'n eallach so 's e air mo dhruim o 'n a dh' fhalbh mi as a' Ghleann Mhòr mu mheadhain oidhche."

"Cha 'n fhosgail mise an dorus gus am bi fhios agam co tha 'g iarraidh a steach," ars' ise, is i air chrith leis an eagal.

"An ann as do chiall a tha thu?" ars' esan, "cha 'n fhaod e bhith gu'n do dhichuimhnich thu mi. Is mise d' fhear-pòsda. Greas air an dorus fhosgladh."

"M' fhear-pòsda!" ars' ise 's i 'freagairt. "Tha latha 's bliadhna o 'n a dh' fhalbh m' fhear-pòsda-sa as an taigh. Cha 'n 'eil dùil agam ri sealladh dhe 'ghnùis fhaicinn gu brath tuilleadh. Cha 'n 'eil slochd no cnochd, garbhlach no comhnard, allt no bòrd locha, nach do shiubhail sinn 'g a iarraidh, agus cha d' fhuair sinn a bheò no 'mharbh. Mur do shluig an talamh e, no mur do thog an t-adhar e, cha 'n 'eil fhios ciod a dh' éirich dha."

"An ainm an àigh, a Mhàiri, sguir dhe d' bruidhinn 's leig a steach mi. Cha 'n e so àm gu bhith 'deanamh spòrs is feala-dha air duine bochd a th' air a shàrachadh idir. Tha uair aig an achmhasan is àm aig a' chéilidh."

Bhuail e anns a cheann aig Màiri gur e tathasg Dhòmhuill a bh' ann, agus chaidh i air chrith leis an eagal cho mòr 's nach b' urrainn i an dorus fhosgladh ged a bhiodh toil aice. Ach an uair a chual' i bhith breabadh an doruis, dh' aithnich i gu'm bu duine saoghalta 'bh' ann. Dh' fhosgail i an dorus, ach o 'n a bha 'n latha gun teannadh ri soilleireachadh, cha b' urrainn i a dheanamh am mach cò bh' ann.

Mu 'n do tharr i sealltainn uice no uaipe chaidh Dòmhull a steach. Leig e dheth an cliabh air bathais an ùrlair.

Ghrad las Màiri an crùisgean, agus ciod a b' iongantaiche

leatha na a fear-pòsda fhein fhaicinn beò, slàn m'a coinneamh 'na sheasamh air an ùrlar!

"Ach c'àite air an t-saoghal an robh thu o chionn bliadhna, 'Dhòmhuill?" ars' ise. "Cha 'n 'eil e coltach gu'n robh sùim agad dhiomsa, no dhe 'n leanabh a bha fhios agad a bh' air mo ghiùlan, an uair a dh' fan thu fad bliadhna gun tighinn an còir an tàighe. Cha 'n 'eil fear eile 'san dùthaich a dheanadh a leithid. Cha robh thu fad' air falbh an uair a dh' fhàs mise tinn le anshocair chloinne."

"B' fhearr leam gu'n sguireadh tu dhe d' bhruidhinn gun dòigh. Am bheil thu 'n dùil gu'n creid mise bruidhinn dhe 'n t-seòrsa sin? B' fhearr dhuit gu mòr greasad air gréim bidh a dheasachadh dhomh. Ged a fhuair mi mo dheadh shuipear o na gillean còire beagan mu 'n d' fhalbh mi gu tighinn dhachaidh, cha mhòr a th' air faighinn dheth an dràsta. So, so; greis ort agus faigh gréim bìdh deiseil a dh' itheas mi."

"Cha 'n 'eil thu agad fhein, a Dhòmhuill. Is math a tha fhios agad gu'm bheil latha 's bliadhna o 'n a dh' fhalbh thu. Agus mur 'eil thu 'gam chreidsinn-sa, seall do 'n leabaidh ud shuas, agus chì ...u do mhac 'na chadal innte. Tha e bliadhna dh' aois an diugh fhein."

Eadar a h-uile connsachadh is comhradh a bh' aig Dòmhnull ris a' mhnaoi, cha d' thug e an aire gu'n d' thàinig atharrachadh mòr air a cumadh o 'n a dh' fhalbh e. An uair a sheall e ceart oirre ghrad thuig e gu'm feumadh gu'n robh e na b' fhaide air falbh na bha e 'n dùil. Gun fhacal a ràdh thog e leis an crùisgean bharr an stuib air an robh e 'n crochadh, agus chaidh e far an robh an leanabh 'na chadal 's an leabaidh. Bha aois bliadhna de mhac cho mòr 's cho tlachdar 's a chunnaic e riamh 'na chadal gu séimh, socrach anns an leabaidh. "Is e so mo mhac gun teagamh. Tha e cho coltach ri Alasdair mo bhràthair 's a tha ugh ri ugh," arsa Dòmhull gu beag ris fhein. Chrom e os a chionn agus thug e pòg dha.

"Tha 'chùis coltach, a Mhàiri," arsa Dòmhnull, "gu'n robh mise ùine mhòr na b' fhaide air falbh na bha mi 'n dùil. Tha 'n gnothach a th' ann a' cur mòran ioghnaidh orm. Innsidh mi dhut a h-uile car mar a thachair dhomh. Ràinig mi mu thràth suipearach a' bhothag. Agus an uair a ghabh sinn ar suipear 's a leig mi greis dhe m' anail, dh' fhalbh mi 's am buideal air mo mhuin anns a' chliabh. Air eagal gu'n tachradh duine sam bith rium an àm dhomh bhith tilleadh dhachaidh, chomhairlich Eoghann Mòr dhomh gabhail a h-uile ceum ri srath na h-aimhne duibhe gus an ruiginn gualann Beinn a' bhric, o 'n is

e rathad is uaigniche a th' eadar so 's an Gleann Mòr. An uair a bha mi falbh o 'n bhothaig 's an cliabh air mo mhuin, thug Eoghann Mòr dhomh luma làn na slige dhe 'n stuth bu treise a bh' aca anns a' bhothaig. Thuirt e, "Ol a h-uile deur dheth, 'Dhòmhuill. Is fheairrd thu fo d' aisnidh e. Bheir e misneach dhut gus a dhol ann an dàil Cailleach Beinn a' bhric, ma thachras i riut air an rathad."

"An uair a bha mi 'dol seachad air an t-sìthean a' th' eadar an amhainn dubh agus a' bheinn, chuala mi 'n ceòl bu bhinne a chuala mo chluas riamh. Chunnaic mi dorus an t-sìthean fosgailte; stob mi an sgian anns an ursainn, agus chaidh mi steach. O 'n a bha cabhag orm cha do leig mi dhiom an cliabh idir. Cha robh mi 'nam sheasamh ach fhad 's a bha na sìthichean a' deanamh aon ruidhle dannsa. Ar leam nach robh mi na b' fhaide ann na ceathramh na h-uarach. An uair a thàinig mi 'mach, bha 'n oidhche cho dorcha 's a bha i an uair a chaidh mi steach. Is iomadh uair a chuala mi nach fhairicheadh daoine an ùine 'dol seachd anns an t-sìthean, agus ged nach robh mi 'g a chreidsinn, tha e coltach gu'm bheil e fìor gu leòr."

"Ach tha rud no dhà ann nach 'eil mi idir a' tuigsinn," arsa Dòmhull 's e cur a làimhe air 'fhalt 's air 'fheusaig. "Tha fhios agad gu'm b' àbhaist dhomh a bhith 'bearradh m' fhuilt uair 'san dà mhios, agus a bhith toirt 'dhìom na feusaig uair 's an t-seachdain. Ach ma bha mi bliadhna air falbh mar a tha thus' ag ràdh, nach iongantach nach d' fhas m' fheusag is m' fhalt mar a b' àbhaist dhaibh. Agus a bharrachd air so, cha d' fhairich mi aon chuid sgios no acras no cadal fhad 's a bha mi anns an t-sìthean. Tha h-uile rud a th' ann a' cur anabharr ioghnaidh orm."

"Biodh ioghnadh ort no na bitheadh is e an fhirinn a tha mise 'g innseadh dhut. Agus mur creid thu mise, cha 'n fhaod e bhith nach creid thu na coimhearsnaich. Gheibh mise fianuisean gu leòr a sheasas air mo thaobh."

"Foghnaidh sid an dràsta," arsa Dòmhull. "Greas thusa air a' bhiadh a dheanamh deiseil. Tha 'n t-acras gus mo tholladh. "Cha 'n 'eil ioghnadh ann ma tha thu gun ghreim o chionn bliadhna. Cha bhi mise fada deasachadh bìdh dhut."

"Thug Dòmhull làmh air gimileid, agus tholl e am buideal uisge-bheatha, agus an uair a shuidh iad aig a' bhiadh dh' òl e fhein is Màiri air a chéile."

Air an latha sin fhein ghairmeadh na dlùth-chairdean agus na coimhearsnaich gu cuirm do thaigh Dhòmhuill, agus dh' oladh deur math dhe na bh' anns a' bhuideal mu 'n do dhealaich iad ri 'chéile.

Bha na Gàidheil a' creidsinn mar an ceudna gu'n robh eòin shìthe ann. B' iad so, a' chuthag, an treabhna, agus an clach-airean. Bha iad a' gabhail beachd nach robh na h-eòin so ri 'm faicinn ach aig àm àraidh dhe 'n bhliadhna. Agus o nach robh fhios aca gu'n robh iad a' falbh as an dùthaich so, an uair a thigeadh am fuachd, agus a' dol do dhùthchannan fad as gus an tigeadh aimsir bhlàth na bliadhna, bha iad a' smaointean gur ann do na sìtheanan a bha iad a' dol. Cha mharbhadh iad a h-aon dhe na h-eòin so air son rud sam bith. B' e an clach-airean a' cheud aon a thigeadh dhiubh. Bha h-uile duine a' gabhail beachd sonraichte air an àite anns am faiceadh e a' cheud fhear dhiubh. Nam faicteadh e 'na sheasamh air talamh glas, co dhiubh a b' ann air garadh phloc no air comhnard lom, no nam faicteadh e an àite sam bith air iteig, bhiodh e 'na chomharradh do 'n neach a chitheadh e, gu'm biodh gach cùis gus a dhol leis gu math fad na bliadhna. Ach nam b' ann air cloich lùim a chitheadh duine e, bhiodh e 'na chomharradh nach biodh soirbheachadh aige fad na bliadhna.

B' i a' chuthag an ath aon a thigeadh. Cha bu toigh le neach sam bith a cluinntinn a' gairm an uair a bhiodh i air ùr-thighinn, mu 'n itheadh e biadh. Theirear "an greim cuthag" ris a' bheagan bìdh a bhios daoine 'gabhail gu math moch 's a' mhadainn gus an latha 'n diugh. Tha 'n rann a leanas a' dearbhadh dhuinn gu'n robh na nithean so air an làn-chreidsinn 's an àm a dh' fhalbh:—

"Chuala mi 'chuthag 's gun am biadh 'nam bhroinn,
Chunnaic mi 'n clachairean air cloich luim,
Chunnaic mi 'n t-seilcheag air talamh-toll,
Chunnaic searrach seann làrach 's chùl rium,
'S dh' aithnich mi nach rachadh a' bhliadhna leam."

Bu ghlé thoigh le daoine an treabhna a chluinntinn; oir cha chluinnear a guth sgreagach gus am bi cinneas math air feur 's air fochann. Ach ged bu toigh leotha 'cluinntinn, cha bu toigh leotha idir a faicinn an taobh a staigh de dhorus taighe. Nam faicteadh an taobh a staigh de dhorus taighe i, dh' fhaoidteadh bhith cinnteach gu'n tigeadh air muinntir an taighe an imrich a dheanamh mu 'n tigeadh crìoch air a' bhliadhna.

O chionn àireamh mhòr bhiadhnachan thòisich daoine am bithdheantas ri bhith cur teagamh gu'n robh sìthichean is eòin-shìthe ann. Anns an àm so, cha 'n fhaighear ach gann duine ann an àite sam bith a chreideas gu'n robh iad riamh ann. Agus

cha 'n fhaighear duine idir a chreideas gu'm bheil iad ann a nis. Cha 'n 'eil duine an diugh beò a chunnaic no 'chuala riamh iad.

Cia mar a thàinig daoine gu bhith 'creidsinn nach 'eil 's nach robh sìthichean is eòin-shithe ann? Cia mar a dh' fhuadaicheadh na beachdan faoine so air falbh a measg an t-sluaigh? Dh' fhuadaicheadh iad le eòlas air nithean aimsireil agus spioradail. Ged a tha 'n soisgeul glé chumhachdach gu beachdan faoine agus cleachdaidhean amaideach fhuadachadh air falbh a cridheachan dhaoine, cha b' e 'na onar a dh' fhuadaich na sìthichean as ar dùthaich. Rinn an t-eòlas a fhuair daoine air cumhachdan agus air obair nàdair faisge air a cheart uiread a dh' fheum anns an dòigh so. Is minic a chunnaic sinn daoine aig an robh eòlas mòr air an t-soisgeul, agus a bha eadhoin 'nam fior chreidmhich, a bha aig a' cheart àm a' toirt tomhas de gheill do gheasalanachd agus do bheachdan faoine eile. Tha sinn, air an aobhar sin a' creidsinn gu'n d' rinn na maighstirean-sgoile, cho math ris a' chléir, mòran a chum iomadh beachd faoin agus amaideach 'fhuadachadh á measg nan Gàidheal.

3rd FEBRUARY, 1898

The office-bearers for 1898 were elected at this meeting. Mr James Fraser, C.E., chairman of the meeting, moved, and it was unanimously agreed to, to record the Society's deep regret at the death of Mr Alexander Mackenzie, publisher, Inverness, one of the Society's founders; and it was remitted to Mr Alex. Macbain, M.A., Mr William Mackay, honorary secretary, and Mr Duncan Mackintosh, secretary, to draw up a minute of condolence, and send a copy of same to the widow of the deceased. Thereafter the Secretary read a paper, contributed by Mr Chas. Fraser-Mackintosh, LL.D., entitled "Minor Highland Families —No. XI.—The Baillies of Dunain." Dr Fraser-Mackintosh's paper was as follows:—

MINOR HIGHLAND FAMILIES—No. XI.
THE BAILLIES OF DUNAIN.

This family, which terminated in 1869 upon the death of William Baillie, ran an honoured course in the neighbourhood of the burgh of Inverness, for upwards of four hundred years.

With one exception, connected with the winning and leading

of peats in the mont of Caiploch by the people of Inverness, against the remonstrances of the Baillies, every good feeling prevailed betwixt the Baillies and the town of Inverness.

The distressing circumstances connected with the 14th and last of the Baillies, after attaining his majority, first commencing in India, and lasting over a period of nearly sixty years, are so well known that, when I come to write of him, the references will be brief.

The first of the Baillies of Dunain was named

1. Alexander, said to be a younger son of the head of the ancient family of Lamington. He married Catherine, daughter of Duncan Grant, Laird of Grant, and settled in the North betwixt 1450 and 1460, and all the Baillies claim that they are descended of the ancient house of Balliol Alexander's eldest son, Alexander, dying without issue, he was succeeded by his second son,

2. William, and he by his son,

3. Alexander Baillie. The Baillies were protected by the family of Huntly, from their first acquiring the Castle lands, and the office of Constable of the Castle under the Gordons was held by at least three of the family of Dunain.

The oldest existing document, so far as known, goes no further back than 1554, when the name of

4. David Baillie, Constable, is mentioned, and of his wife, Margaret Rose of Kilravock. At same time, the name of Alexander, 3rd, father of David, as Constable of Inverness and Sheriff Depute, is found in the Sheriff Court Records as early as 1534.

Colonel John Baillie of Dunain, after referred to, gives, in his MS. account of his family, the names of Alexander and William Baillie as the first and second of Dunain, as I have stated above.

Upon 15th June, 1554, John Grant of Corrimony grants a bond over the half of Sheuglie, in the parish of Urquhart, in favour of David Baillie and Margaret Rose, signed in presence of George Strachan of Culloden, George Cuthbert of the Auld Castle, Provost of Inverness, and others, and to the infeftment following, taken up on 17th September, 1554, are the following witnesses:—Donald og Macpherson, Allister mac Coil vic a Gowin, Donald mac Iain vic Finlay, David mac Iain vic Robert, Iain mac Allister vic Ruarie, James mac Conchie vic Duile, Finlay mac Hamish vic Soirle, and Ferquhar Macpherson, with William Cuming as nottar.

During the time of James Stuart, the Regent Moray, he granted, on no valid authority apparently, a charter of Dunain Mor and Dunain Croy to

5. Alexander Baillie, as son and heir of David Baillie, dated Elgin, 29th August, 1564. The above charter was inoperative, proceeding *a non habile potestatem.* Alexander Baillie got a charter of Balrobert from George, Earl of Huntly, the superior, dated at Edinburgh, 15th August, 1571, one of the witnesses being Patrick Gordon, the Earl's brother. Alexander's sasine on the charter is dated 16th September, 1571, and amongst the witnesses were:—Alexander Roy Baillie in Lagnalian, Jasper Fleming, burgess of Inverness, William Macpherson, servitor to Dunain, and Thomas Annand, servitor to John Gibson, the nottar.

Alexander dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother,

6. William Baillie, who gets a Precept of Clare Constat from George, Earl of Huntly, with consent of his curators, dated Inverness, 10th January, 1577. One of the witnesses is described, "Mr John Gordon, Rector of Petty."

William Baillie, 6th of Dunain, was Provost of Inverness, and in 1583 he grants a Letter of Reversion, as son of umquhile David Baillie, Constable of Inverness, and Margaret Rose of Kilravock, his father and mother, and as heir of Conquest of umquhile Alexander Baillie, 5th of Dunain, his brother, in favour of George, Earl of Huntly, of the lands of Dunain Mor and Dunain Croy, on the narrative that his (William's) rights were of the nature of a wadset only to David Baillie, and that David and his wife gave their letter to that effect, dated 27th August, 1550.

Following upon this Deed of Reversion, matters were put upon a secure foundation, by George, Earl of Huntly, granting a new charter to William Baillie, of Dunain Mor and Dunain Croy, with their sheillings in the Caiploch, the lands of Torbreck and Balrobert, with their sheillings in Killievorskie (really Coillie-mor-na-Skiach). Upon this charter Provost William Baillie was infeft. His sasine is dated 15th June, 1590, the witnesses being Alexander Gordon, Dunain's servant; Allan mac Allister vic Iain dhu in Lagnalian; James Denoon, Dunain's servant; Donald dhu mac Conchie in Dunaincroy; Finlay mac Vurich mor; and Adam Dunbar, nottar.

Provost William Baillie married Katherine Munro, daughter of Munro of Milntown, Ross. After Dunain's death, she married John MacCallum mor Macpherson in Breackachie.

Provost Baillie died early in 1606, for upon 1st May of that year George, Marquis of Huntly, grants a charter of Dunain to

7. Alexander Baillie, William's son, now of Dunain. This charter is dated at Inverness, 1st May, 1606, John Grant of Freuchie being one of the witnesses. Alexander's infeftment is dated 9th June, and registration being now compulsory, it is registered at the Chanonry of Ross, 15th June, 1606, the witnesses thereto being John Cuthbert of Auld Castle Hill, Alexander mac Coil vic Ferquhar Maclean of Davochgarrioch, Alexander Baillie of Dochfour, John dhu Baillie in Lagnalian, John mac Coil vic Iain in Dochnacraig.

Alexander Baillie receives another charter from George, Earl of Enzie, with consent of the Marquis of Huntly, his father, and Lady Anna Campbell, his spouse, of the lands of Dunain and Torbreck, dated Elgin and Bog o' Gicht, 15th February and 10th March, 1616.

In the time of this Alexander Baillie the family stood at its highest territorially, having consolidated what he inherited from his predecessors, including Dochcairns, and added the important estate of Dochnacraig, or Lochend, and valuable fishings in the Ness. He received a charter of Dochnacraig from the Earl of Enzie and spouse, dated 25th November and 8th December, 1619, upon which he was infeft 11th December, 1619, registered at Chanonry, 3rd January, 1620, the witnesses to the sasine being Iain dhu Baillie in Lagnalian, Alexander mac Phadrig in Dochnacraig, William Baillie in Dochfour, William Baillie in Dochnacraig, Hector Mac Allister in Davochcairn, and Ferquhar mac Eachin, his son there.

Alexander Baillie was appointed Chamberlain for the Family of Huntly over their lands in Lochaber and Badenoch, by Letters of Bailiary, dated Inverness, 28th November, 1619. Finally, in 1623, Alexander Baillie gets an ordinary charter of all his estates on both sides of the river Ness, with Garvamore, in Badenoch, in warrandice, from the Earl of Enzie, with consent of his father, dated at Inverness and The Bog, 8th and 9th May, 1623, Hugh, Master of Lovat, William, Lord Sinclair of Berriedale, and Thomas Fraser of Strechen, witnesses. The sasine thereon is dated 23rd May, registered at Chanonry, 12th June, 1623, and the witnesses, Alexander Maclean of Dochgarroch, Alexander Baillie of Dochfour, William Baillie, his son, and Donald Mac Eachin in Dochnalurg.

Alexander Baillie's affairs being now on a very satisfactory footing, domestic troubles arose, particularly on the part of

David and William, his brothers, who, it would appear, were jealous of his growing prosperity. These began as early as 1621, when on 15th June of that year Alexander Baillie had to procure letters from the Secret Council against them. It was intended to waylay him near Torvean, on his way back from Inverness to Dunain. Being dark, his servant was taken for his master, and received dangerous maltreatment. The old public road towards Dochgarroch and the Bona skirted the east slopes of the Torvean range.

In 1633 James Cuthbert of Draikies pursues Alexander Baillie of Dunain and Alexander Maclean of Dochgarroch, as sureties for the Earl of Enzie under their cautionary obligation, dated Inverness, 6th May, 1633. Dunain is discharged of his obligation 27th May, 1634.

Alexander Baillie married Miss Munro of Fowlis, and had at least one daughter, Katherine, married to Malcolm Fraser, first of Culduthel, formerly styled "in Ruthven." His eldest son, William Baillie, married, in 1634, Isobel Forbes, daughter of Duncan Forbes, first of Culloden, then described Duncan Forbes of Bught. In the same year Alexander, William's father, gets all his lands confirmed by Royal charter. Besides his eldest son, William, Alexander Baillie had David, his second son, first of the present family of Dochfour, to whom he gave the lands of Dochcairns, by disposition dated 22nd October, 1657. His third son was Captain James Baillie, who got a charter of Knocknageal, part of Torbreck, dated 2nd July, 1639. His fourth son was named John, mentioned in 1638 and 1658. The latest date I have connected with Alexander Baillie is 1658.

8. It was with his son, William, the 8th Dunain, that the serious disputes regarding peats with the town of Inverness occurred. He was also in trouble with his neighbour, John Maclean of Dochgarroch, as to their respective marches, settled for a time by the arbitration, on the grounds, of Lieut.-Col. Miles Man, Deputy Governor of Inverness; Hugh Fraser of Belladrum, Lachlan Mackintosh of Kinrara, John Forbes of Culloden, Hugh Fraser of Struy, and Alexander Mackintosh of Connage, Justices of the Peace for Inverness-shire, on the 27th June, 1659. William Baillie was a great sportsman, musician, and composer in Gaelic. His eldest son was

9. Alexander Baillie, who received from his father a disposition of the estates on 7th April, 1661, on occasion of his marriage with Jean Mackenzie, daughter of Kenneth Mackenzie of Coul, reserving certain rights.

In 1663-67, Alexander Baillie, younger of Dunain, was in an impecunious state, with diligences against him in force.

In one of the numerous attempts at a settlement betwixt Mackintosh and Lochiel, a meeting at Inverness of the Chiefs, with thirty armed followers each, was arranged to take place before the Earl of Moray, upon Tomnahurich. Lochiel and his men encamped at Dunain, but not until William Baillie had first obtained a written assurance from Mackintosh that his giving accommodation to Lochiel would not be prejudicial. This curious document of assurance is dated 8th June, 1664.

In 1671, David Baillie, first of Dochfour, with his wife and family, had his residence at the manor place of Castle Spirital in Bona.

In 1673, George, Earl of Panmure, Titular of the Tiends of the Parish of Inverness, granted a long tack, still running, to William Baillie of Dunain, of the tiends of his lands within the parish of Inverness.

In 1676, I observe the name of John Baillie of Mid Leys, first of the Leys family, cadets of Dunain.

James Fraser, as bailie for William Baillie of Dunain, holds a Baron Court at Balrobert, upon 12th November, 1677. About this time the proprietors of Dunain and Dochgarroch adjusted their marches at the Tormore, part of which, termed "The Gob," was cut away early this century, for its clay, in course of the construction of the Caledonian Canal, leaving the present precipitous, ugly clay face at Dalrioch. By 1679 Alexander Baillie, 9th of Dunain, is dead, leaving an only son, William, who succeeded his grandfather.

Isobel Forbes, Lady Dunain, on 9th September, 1685, makes her testament in favour of her husband, William Baillie. William Baillie, 8th Dunain, died in 1691, for on 14th November of that year his grandson also,

10. William, described as William Baillie "now of Dunain," enters into a contract of marriage with Mary Duff, eldest daughter of William Duff, Elder Bailie of Inverness. Among the witnesses to the contract were William Mackintosh of Borlum, William Duff of Dipple, and Alexander Duff of Drummuir.

Alexander Baillie, second of Dochfour, discharges William Baillie of Dunain, for himself and as representing Alexander Baillie, his father; William Baillie, his grandfather; Isobel Forbes, his grandmother; and Alexander Baillie, his great-grandfather, of all claims, dated at Bught, 8th September, 1692.

Upon the 20th of October, 1692, William Baillie of Dunain is similarly discharged of all claims competent to his mother, Jean Mackenzie, otherwise Baillie, and to William Fraser of Erchite, her present husband.

William Baillie had a sister, Janet, who, upon 23rd November, 1693, enters into articles of marriage with John Grant, younger of Glenmoriston, with consent of John Grant, elder, his father, the witnesses being Donald Macdonell of Lundie, William Grant of Achmonie, Alexander Baillie of Dochfour, with others. Janet Baillie died shortly after her marriage, and the line of Glenmoriston was carried on through John Grant, the younger's, second marriage. Notwithstanding this connection, the Baillies suffered much from the depredations of the Grants, who regularly swept off their cattle when summering in the hills of Dochnacraig, removing them very expeditiously to the west by Gartallie, Clunemore, and Bunloit.

William Baillie, as might be expected from his close neighbourhood, helped the burgh of Inverness to erect the old stone bridge, over which he got a Tolerance, dated 26th September, 1698. In truth, it may be said that, with the exception of the peat troubles, the family of Dunain were close friends and allies of the burgh, and later, towards the close of the eighteenth century, when Colonel John Baillie was recruiting for his Fencibles, he got great countenance from the authorities, and material support from the people.

Dunain is made a free burgess and Guild brother of Dundee on 6th August, 1697, and of Inverness upon 1st May, 1699. After his first wife's death, William Baillie married secondly, on 12th August, 1700, Helen Baillie, his cousin, eldest lawful daughter of William Baillie, Commissary of Inverness.

Dunain gets a charter same year from the Burgh to a rood of land south side of Bridge Street, which had belonged to his grandfather, William.

Dunain's brother, Kenneth, is married 17th December, 1702, to Isabel Chisholm, lawful daughter to the deceased Alexander Chisholm of Comar, with consent of her brother, John Chisholm, now of Comar. William Baillie and John Baillie of Torbreck, Kenneth's brothers, are cautioners, and among the bridegroom's near friends are Duncan Forbes of Culloden. William Baillie, commissary, and James Baillie, writer, Inverness; and on the bride's, Sir John Mackenzie of Coul, Kenneth Mackenzie of Scatwell, and Symon Mackenzie of Allangrange.

Kenneth died in low water, November, 1705, but his widow is found on 16th October, 1736. The children emigrated, under

General Oglethorpe, to the new colony of Georgia, and there are existing descendants, with whom I had the pleasure of corresponding. The male Baillies have died out. Some letters from these Georgia Baillies exist.

William receives a charter to all his lands, in which his father, Alexander, stood infeft, from the first Duke of Gordon, dated Gordon Castle, 27th September, 1708. The Duke would hardly carry a prize for spelling, as he signs thus—"Georg duk off Gordon."

William Baillie of Dunain was in considerable pecuniary difficulties, very much in connection with cautionary obligations for his brother, John Baillie of Torbreck, Chamberlain for the Duke of Gordon, and in 1715 assigned all his heritable estate to his eldest son, William. This son, William, died prior to 1725, for in that year old Dunain, as representing his deceased son, William Baillie, younger of Dunain, is pursued by David Scott, burgess of Inverness.

By contract, dated Dunain, 3rd June, 1731, Sir Archibald Campbell of Clunes marries, as his second wife, Magdalen, eldest daughter of William Baillie of Dunain.

William Baillie executes a disposition of all his estate in favour of his second, but eldest surviving, son, Alexander, dated at Dunain, 18th December, 1731, but survived until 1737; for in that year Alexander is described as "younger" of Dunain.

11. Alexander Baillie of Dunain married, 24th June, 1737, Anne, third daughter of Sir Archibald Campbell of Clunes, contract signed at Calder. There was this curious connection, Magdalen and Alexander Baillie, sister and brother, married Sir Archibald and Anne Campbell, father and daughter. Alexander Baillie's marriage was a happy one, for, writing from Dunain, 5th March, 1738, he gleefully writes that he had come home with £250 of tocher in his pocket, acknowledging at same time his thankfulness for "a good wife;" and in his letters to India to his sons, William and John, he refers most affectionately to their mother as his only comfort and support.

Alexander Baillie of Dunain took no part in the Rising of 1745, further than by doing what he could to succour quietly distressed Jacobites, and the shelter and nourishment afforded by the "Soul Mor" of Dunain was constantly spoken of in my younger days. The only paper of the period I have seen has been lithographed and printed, being an order, in name of Prince Charles, dated Invss. —— March 1746, signed by O'Sullivan, requisitioning eight horses and carts for the use of the forces.

I have a document, dated 4th Decr. 1747, written by Alexr. Baillie, eldest lawful son of Hugh Baillie of Dochfour, when an apprentice to his uncle, Evan Baillie of Abriachan, and long as that date is separated from the present year (1898) by 151 years, a niece of Alexander's, who was himself born in 1734, still lives. The document above referred to is contract of marriage between Patrick Grant of Lochletter, with consent of his eldest brother, James Grant of Sheuglie, and Katharine Baillie, only lawful daughter of David Baillie, storemaster at Fort-Augustus, which David was, I think, brother of Alexander of Dunain. The contract is witnessed by a number of Baillies, including Lieut. Wm. Baillie, of the Earl of Drumlanrig's Regiment. For delivering an urgent message from Inverness to Dunain, a boy is paid, on 20th April, 1748, the munificent sum of two pence Scots, less than a farthing.

Alexander Baillie had two sons, William, John, who succeeded his brother, and two daughters. The eldest, Anne, married her cousin, Dr George Baillie of Leys, and the youngest, Nellie, married, as his second wife, Dr John Alves of Shipland. The boys were educated at King's College, Aberdeen, under Principal Jack and Professor Leslie, letters from both, in the year 1756, being very complimentary to the young students.

The eldest finished his education at the University of Edinburgh. Inclining to a military life, he was appointed, 18th October, 1759, 5th Lieutenant in the 89th, or original Gordon Regiment, which was equipped by the Dowager-Duchess of Gordon, and commanded by her second husband, Col. Staats Morris. The regiment was immediately ordered to the East Indies, and many of his letters, and some of his journals at sea, remain. William Baillie, after a few years, elected, in 1764, to remain in India, and joined the East India Company's military forces. He rose but slowly, yet he pinched himself, and whatever moneys he could save were regularly sent home, and the pecuniary position of his parents much ameliorated. Before the father's death, it may be said that the estate had been cleared by William Baillie's remittances.

To the great grief of his parents, John Baillie, the younger son, displayed strong disinclination to a home life, and nothing would do but to join his brother. This occurred in 1768, through the influence of Sir Alexander Grant of Dalvey, M.P. Thereafter, both daughters having married, and both sons in India, the old couple were left alone, and it is not surprising that in his parents letters to Colonel William, they are full of prayers for his speedy return and settling at home.

Alexander Baillie died 30th June, 1771, his wife on 15th March, 1776, and he was succeeded by his eldest son,

12. William. William's services at the taking of Pondicherry, the expedition against the Isle of Mauritius, and elsewhere, deserve recognition in a much fuller manner than is possible within the scope or limits of this paper, suffice to say that Colonel William Baillie fought his way up, in face of many discouragements and want of support, culminating in the fatal battle at Conjeveram, on 10th September, 1780, where his forces were overwhelmed by Hyder Ali, and he himself taken prisoner and moved to Seringapatam, where he died, after two years captivity, on 13th of November, 1782. Some of his letters and papers, which were afterwards delivered up by the Nabob, remain, and the true account of that unhappy part of Indian history should yet be given. Lieut. Francis Baillie, unfortunately killed at Porto Nova, in India, in a letter to Dr Alves, dated Fort St George, 28th November, 1780, makes several significant references about the conduct of Colonel Hector Munro of Novar, superior officer, immediately prior to the battle of Conjeveram, and the ideas about Inverness, when the news came, even suggested betrayal. At all events, the brother, John Baillie, wrote to Munro a very distinct letter, considering their rank respectively, on 27th March, 1781.

13. John. Colonel John Baillie had a miserably anxious time during his brother's captivity. His promotion was, in his opinion, unduly kept back by Munro, and thus, although a born soldier, he became so disgusted that he threw up his captain's commission and returned home, a disappointed and, as he felt, an ill-used man, arriving in Great Britain in the year 1785. Shortly afterwards he married his cousin, Isabella Campbell of Budgate, a lady of great tenacity in her views, the only child of a simple couple, and during the whole of her life dominating her parents, husband, and children. Colonel Baillie continued the plantations of his hill grounds, begun by his late brother, built in 1790 the present house of Dunain, much enlarged of late years, bought plate and china of an expensive character, took out a game license, started a bleaching mill at Dunaincroy, and settled down to the life of a country gentleman of easy means, not omitting, so as to avoid stagnation, a somewhat stirring litigation with his neighbours, Dochfour and Sir James Grant of Abriachan. A note of the salmon caught at Bona in 1785, and to whom sold, shows what splendid fish they were, running up to 33 lbs., and the price only 2d per lb. All this, however, could

not satisfy the "born" soldier. He fretted and pined, until the exigencies of the times demanding the constant enlistment of soldiers, and forming of regiments, gave him his opportunity.

The raising of Inverness Fencibles was a great event in the town of Inverness and neighbourhood. Dunain was first appointed Major, afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel, and at great cost completed his regiment. Not only in the raising, but afterwards, Colonel Baillie met with many crosses. He had raised 30 men beyond the requisite number, complaining that no fewer than 48 were improperly rejected. Then, by orders from headquarters, his men were invited to join the 42nd, and offered a large bounty. Chafing under these discouragements, Colonel Baillie addressed a vigorous but pathetic remonstrance to Secretary Dundas, that unless he was differently treated, it had been better his bones had rested in India with those of his ill-fated brother. The regiment was ordered to Ireland, then in a disturbed state, and Colonel Baillie was seized with illness, which terminated fatally at Kilkenny, 1st February, 1797.

Colonel Baillie left three sons and two daughters, all young.

The suddenness of Colonel Baillie's death, and the maladministration of the regiment's affairs by its army agents, proved serious, and it was not until 1809 they were settled, resulting in so serious a loss to Colonel Baillie's family, following on the heavy bounties he had paid at the enrolment, that the estate was involved almost beyond recovery.

To the Colonel's nephew, Mr Archibald Alves, and his friend, Colonel Donald Macleod of Achagoyle, afterwards of St Kilda, father of Sir John Macpherson Macleod of Glendale, the greatest credit is due for their exertions to preserve the estate from insolvency. Colonel Baillie, to oblige the Alves family, purchased the estate of Shipland. This estate and Dochnacraig were scheduled in an application to the Court of Session for judicial sale. Most fortunately, however, the Caledonian Canal operations involved the compulsory acquisition of part of the Dunain estate, which brought in about £4000, and Shipland brought in about £5000, a great deal more than it cost Colonel Baillie. These were the times when lands near Inverness brought 50 to 70 years' purchase of the rentals. Matters were continued in the charge of Provost Gilzean, Mrs Baillie postponed her claims, and thereby the creditors were pacified. By and by, every farthing of debt was paid off.

14. William. William Baillie, the eldest son, was carefully brought up, and his great natural talents developed by a liberal

education. In justice, it must be said that his mother did not treat him with the affection she bestowed on the younger sons, Archibald and Alexander. Her second daughter, Anne, was also kept at a distance.

The three boys were all sent to Aberdeen, under charge of Mr Ewen Maclachlan. The youngest, Alexander, died there, and had his virtues celebrated in verse, "Ode to Alexis," by his master, while the career of the second, Archibald, his mother's favourite, destined to proceed to India, was cut short by an illness, leaving him unfitted to make his way in the world. He died about 1818.

The eldest daughter, Katharine, married, when very young, Hugh Rose of Kilravock, and died at an early age, leaving children whose descendants ultimately succeeded to the estate.

Miss Anne Baillie died unmarried, and several acts of kindness to me, when a small boy in her neighbourhood at Dochnalurg, I gratefully remember.

It was first intended that William Baillie should become a lawyer, and he was apprenticed to Mr Kenneth Mackenzie, W.S., in 1806. He took a dislike to the profession, and his mother crossing him in a love affair at Edinburgh, Mr Baillie availed himself of the opportunity of his brother's incapacity, to take up the appointment of writer in the East India Company's service, which had been obtained by the influence of Charles Grant, senior. All his letters, up to his arrival in India, which occurred in 1811, show a refined and cultivated mind, but traces are not wanting of pride in family and conceit of knowledge, forboding danger of over-strained intellect. Upon his arrival at Bombay, with letters to Sir James Mackintosh and others, he became unsettled and extravagant, and without apparent good reason, started off for Persia and Bagdad. During his lengthened journey he made copious notes, showing an intelligent and observant mind, but returned in weak health to Bombay, having spent a good deal of money. To save his life, he was ordered home, and arrived in London in 1814, but all was in vain. His mind had given way, and in 1816 he was placed under a curator bonis, and so continued under successive curators until his death, in 1869, a period of 53 years.

The estate was well managed, so far as regards the proprietor, but the people were gradually cleared out. At Balnagaick alone there was, within my own recollection, seven families, and I may be allowed to congratulate myself that, when the estate was under my charge, 1869-1872, six houses were erected by Sir John Ramsden for cottars, and all occupied at Balnacraig.

After Mr Baillie's death, the estate sold for £60,000, and there were accumulations of about £30,000, which fell to three heiresses portioners, Mrs Rose, Mrs Dealtry, and Mrs Innes, the descendants of Mrs Katharine Rose of Kilravock, the only member of Colonel John Baillie's family having issue.

The Baillies, prior to the Reformation and since, have been buried in the Grey Friars at Inverness; and while clearing up and levelling the Dunain portion, a headless figure was brought to light, since inserted in the wall, the only relic, except the solitary pillar, remaining of the ancient monastery. There is little doubt that this figure represents the famous Alexander, Earl of Mar, who died at Inverness on 26th July, 1435.

If, as I trust, there will be a Book Club at Inverness for the editing and publishing of Highland Family History, I am glad to say that ample material exists for an interesting volume regarding the Baillies of Dunain.

16th FEBRUARY, 1898.

At the meeting this evening Dr Gordon Lang; Mr John Macdonald, wood merchant; Sheriff Scott-Moncrieff; Major Ferguson; Dr Alexander Mackay; and Mr E. A. Mackintosh, Southwood—all of Inverness; and Rev. D. Campbell, Petty, were elected ordinary members of the Society. Thereafter Mr A. MacBain, M.A., read a valuable paper entitled, "Early Highland Personal Names," which was as follows :—

EARLY HIGHLAND PERSONAL NAMES.

In my paper in the 20th volume on the "Old Gaelic System of Personal Names," I shewed that the most characteristic names among the ancient Gael were double-stemmed: Murchadh, for example, from Celtic Mori-catu-s, "Sea-warrior," and Finlay (popularly Old Gaelic Find-laech, a Fair Hero), older Findlug, from Vindo-lugu-s, "Fair Winner." Then I shewed how such names as Findlug, Findbarr, Findguine, Findcath, &c., were curtailed into pet forms, mostly with only the root *find* left, these being the diminutive names Fintan or Finnan, Findoc or Fionndag, and Finne, even Finn or Fionn alone, thus giving rise to the adjective names Fionn, Flann (red), Donn, Dubh, and

others. The animal names so common among the Gael may have been curtailments like the above from double-stemmed forms, or they may have been given directly, as the later Mathghamhain, bear, certainly was. The peculiar Gadelic development of a name with two elements, one governing the other in the genitive, was also explained, such as Cu-chulainn, "Culann's Hound," Donnsléibhe or Donleavy, "Brown of the Hill," and Maol-iosa or Malise, "Christ's Devotee." In this paper I propose to deal with the development and results of the Gadelic or Old Gaelic system of names among the Scottish Gaels.

The elements of the double-stemmed system of names may be, for clear and popular purposes, summarised in two columns: the first column contains the stems, now roots only, which usually go to make the first element of the name; the second column contains the roots usual as second elements. But some roots have both characteristics. In the following lists the italic forms are older Gaelic, and the medial consonants, inclusive of *m*, are not aspirated :—

Aed, Aodh, "fire"	*-aed*, "fire"
Aon-, "one, unique"	-all (= *valo-s*), "wielding"
Art, "bear"	-barr, "head"
Cath-, "battle"	-beartach, "powerful"
Car-, "love"	*-bne*, -bhne, "being, going"
Cell-, "war"	-car, "dear"
Ciar-, "dusky"	-cath, "battle"
Com-, Comh-, "with"	-ceartach, "director"
Con-, "high"	*-cobar*, "help"
Domhn-, "world"	-cu, "dog"
Donn, "brown, lord"	-donn, "lord"
Each-, "horse"	-gart, "head"
Eo-, "kind"	-gal, "valour"
Fael, Faol, "wolf"	-gel, "white"
Fer-, "super, man"	-gan, "kin"
Find-, Fionn, "white"	-guin, "kin"
Flaith-, "dominion"	-gus, "choice"
Gorm-, "blue"	*-lug*, -lach, "winning"
Lug-, god "Luga," "winning"	*-laech*, -lagh, "hero"
Mac-, "son"	-mac, "son"
Muir-, "sea"	-nia, "champion"
Niall, "champion"	*-ri*, -raigh, "king"
So-, Su-, "good"	-thach, "-ious"
Tighearn-, "lord"	-tighearn, "lord"

By joining elements from the one list to those of the other, we get our best known names, and also many obsolete or absorbed names. Aodh, "fire," gives us M'Kay; with *cin*, offspring, before it, we get Cionaodh or Kenneth, now obsolete. The clan name M'Kenzie comes from Coinneach, Old Irish Cainnech, "Fair-one;" but Irish M'Kenna and Galwegian M'Kinnie is from Cionaodh.

Aon-ghus, "Angus," is at once seen to mean "Unique Choice.' Hence M'Innes, M'Ainsh, M'Nish, Guiness.

Art gives the Irish O'Hart; from Cymric we borrow Arthur, which is from this root. Hence the clan name M'Arthur.

Barr, "head," gives us St Barr, whence the island name of Barra.

From *cath*, fight, comes Donnchath, "Brown fighter, Lord of fighting," for *donn* has both meanings. Hence M'Connachie. Cathal is for Catu-valo-s, "war-wielder." Hence M'Kail, Call.

The root *car*, love, gives us Carthach, "One to be loved," whence the great name of M'Carthy. Terminally we have it in Fear-char, "Very deor," whence M'Erchar and Farquharson.

From *cell*, war, Teutonic *hild*, comes Ceallach, "warrior," whence M'Kelly, Kelly; borrowed by the Norse as Kjalakr, it remains in the Isles as M'Killaig and in the island name Killigray.

The prep. *com*, with, along with *ghan*, gives Comgan, "Congenial," a well-known Saint's name, whence old Gille-chomghain, later M'Cowan and Cowan.

Con, "high," goes along with numerous roots; Con-all is the older Cuno-valo-s, "mighty-wielder;" Con-chobar is now Conachar or M'Concher, still an existent clan in Lorn—it may mean "mighty help" or "Co-help," likely the former.

Domhn- means "world," hence Domhn-all or Donald means "world-ruler;" Domhangart, "world's head," pronounced Donaghart. From the former comes the great name of Macdonald, and from the latter Clann Ille-Dhonaghart or Gil-Domangart's Race, of Benderloch, now Macdonalds in English.

Donn, "brown or lord," gives Donn-chath or Duncan, as already seen, whence M'Connochie and M'Conkey. From Donngal comes Donnelly.

Each "horse," appears twice, each time with a "lord:" Eachunn (=Each-dhonn), "Hector," and Eacharna (=Each-thighearna), from which last come M'Echern and M'Kechnie; Gaelic for both is M'Eacharna. Eachunn gives M'Eachan, Galwegian M'Geachan.

The obsolete prefix *Eo-* means "kind;" it is best known in Eo-ghan or Ewen, which is practically Eugenius. Hence M'Ewen.

From Faolan, "little wolf," come M'Ghill' Fhaolain or M'Lellan and Gilfillan also. A further diminutive is M'Gill' Fhaolagain, which appears as M'Killigan.

From *Fer* comes Fer-char or Farquhar, and Fer-gus, "super-choice," whence Fergus-son, M'Kerras, &c.

Fionn is a heroic name; it is not uncommon historically. The diminutive Finnean gives M'Ill'-fhinein or M'Lennan; Fionndóc gives M'Ill'-fhionndaig or M'Lintock. M'Kinnon is for M'Fhionghuin, "Fair-born." Finlay in Scotland is for Fionn-laoch, "Fair-hero," a popular change for Find-lug, "Fair-one of Luga," the god of arts and culture, or, perhaps, "Fair-winner" simply. Hence M'Kinley, Finlayson. Macpherson's Fingall was probably founded on the Macdonald title of Righ Fionnghall, "King of the Norse," or King of the Isles. Fingall means "Fair-stranger," or Norse-man, and it was used as a name—once by a King of the Fingall—a King of Man and the Isles, in the 11th century. I find also a Canon of Wilthern so called in the 13th century. The Dubhghaill or "Black Foreigners" were the Danes; and they have left the name Dubhghall or Dugald, whence M'Dougall and M'Dowall. Finnghuala or "Fair-shoulder" is the Finvola of the charters and the present Fionnaghal or Flora.

Flaith, "dominion," appears in Flaith-bheartach, "Dominion-holding," whence the Argyleshire M'Larty and the Irish Flaherty. Gorm-fhlaith, "blue-ruler," and the later Gormla, is a female name, well known in Highland tales, but long obsolete.

Gal with *comh* gives Comh-ghal, "Co-brave," whence Cinel-comhghail, "Cowal's kin," now Cowal, the people giving as usual the name to the district. So with Lorn also.

Lug, "small," with *laoch* or *lach* gives Lulach, the name of Macbeth's successor; hence the M'Lullichs and the Argyleshire M'Cullochs. No doubt the Ayrshire and Arran M'Clew, M'Cloy, and M'Cluie come from the old name Lughaidh, a derivative of *lug* "winning, Luga;" and St Mo-luac is a diminutive from Lughaidh.

Mac, "son," is used adjectivally in the sense of "young." Thus Mac-nia means "Youthful champion," and seems to be the origin of the name M'Nee; for though that name is now pronounced M'Ree (as if it were "King's son"), yet in the 15th century documents, such as the Exchequer Rolls, we have indubitably M'Knee, and the Dean of Lismore gives M'Onee. Cormac is for Corb-mac, "Son of the chariot" = charioteer. Hence M'Cormic.

Naturally the sea has given many names, of which the most important is Mur-chadh (*Mori catu-s), "Sea-warrior," whence Murchie, M'Murchie, Murchieson. Murchadh and Muireach are

regarded as one, but this is not so. Muireach is for a fuller Muireadhach, an older Muiredach; and this is explained by an old gloss as meaning "lord." A shorter form *muire* means "steward" in Early Irish, from the root *mor*, powerful, Gaelic *murrach*, rich (= *mur-thach*); ultimately the root is the same as that of *mór*. Hence M'Vurich, Murdoch, Currie (= Ma-C'Vurie). Lost in these two—Murchadh and Muireach—is the famous old name Muircheartach, "Sea-ruler," which appears as M'Murrarty, M'Vurarty, M'Quartie in older documents, and now as M'Kirdie and M'Mutrie. The Gaelic is M'Urardaigh at present. Muir-gheal, "sea-white," is the female name Muriel.

Niall or Neil means "champion." A derivative is Niall-ghus, "Choice-champion," which gives the Irish M'Nelis, but by a law of vulgar phonetics the Lowland M'Neilage. In a similar way M'Ambrois (Ambrose) gives M'Cambridge, and M'Phetruis gives M'Fetridge. So Scotch *rubbage* is for *rubbish*, and Irish *carcidge* for carcase.

Ruadh-ri or Rory means "Red-prince."

From *so-*, *su-*, good, we have Suibhne "good going one," the opposite of Duibhne; whence Sween and M'Queen, Irish M'Sweeny, and O'Duinn from Duibhne. The Norse-Danish Sweyn gives Suan, that is, M'Suain or M'Swan.

Tighearna, "lord," gives the name Tighearnan, a saint's name found in that of Kiltearn. For M'Eachern, see under *Each*.

The modern Highland names and surnames from animal names are few. Cailean or Colin appears in Gaelic about 1400-1450 as Cailin; in charters it is Colin as far back as 1300-1400, then the name of the earliest Campbells, a South Perthshire name, probably a dialect form for the older Culen or (Latinised) Caniculus, whelp. M'Cnlloch seems undoubtedly the "Boar's son;" and the name M'Cráin, or "Pig's son," was known in the Isles. Martin (1700) tells us that in Jura he was told that one of the natives, called Gillouir MacCrain, lived to have kept one hundred and eighty Christmasses in his own house. "He died about fifty years ago," he adds, "and there are several of his acquaintances living to this day, from whom I had this account." The name also appeors in Islay in the 17th century: Murdoch M'Rayne, 1686, and with the secondary genitive in *-ich* we have John M'Ranich gorrme M'Kay, in 1642, as well as Donald gorrme M'Ranie choll of the same date and place (Ballinicill). The Mathesons or MacMhathans derive their name from *mathghamhain*, the bear; and St Catan, "little cat," as we shall see, gave his name to Clan Chattan. An interesting branch of this Clan is the

Shaws: the modern Gaelic of the name is Seaghdh, Na Sè'ich; but it is clear that this pronunciation was influenced by the English spelling Shaw, which itself had been adopted from the great Ayrshire and Stirlingshire families of Shaw, *de Schaw* of the Ragman Roll, from *shaw*, wood. We know the old form of the name: Sythach Macmallon was a bondman in Badenoch in 1224-33; Ferchar, son of Seth, is a Badenoch witness, evidently the seneschal, in 1234; a charter of 1338 speaks of Scayth, son of Ferchard, as holder of the "stychan" of Dalnavert; Wynton gives one of the leaders of the clans at the Perth Combat of 1396 as Schir or Scha, while Major spells his name Sceach. This points to a Gaelic name Sitheach; and we know it to have been common. Sithach was a Culdee of Muthill, 1178; Seth MacLeod, in the Dunfermline Charters, 1230; Scheoch, tenant of Finbelach in Strathern, 1480; Schiach M'Keich (M'Sithich), in Weem, 1638; Its female form was Shihag, Delnies, 1649; Shiack Nein Finlay, Ferintosh, 1650, and Shiak Nein Donald, a neighbour of hers; Shiag, at Leys, Inverness, 1678. Sithag of Lennox was the spouse of John of Lorn. As a surname we have the modern Shiach represented from 1455-1462 by John Schetho, Scheoch or Scheo, king's *cursor*, and in 1456 Thomas Scheoch, similarly engaged, while John Scheach appears at Inverness in 1451. In its patronymic shape we saw it already as Schiach M'Keich, Weem, 1638, which represents the Book of Deer's Donnachac M'Sithig. The name is also M'Keith, and in either form was common in Breadalbane three hundred years ago. The word *sithech* means "wolf," and no doubt M'Kichan is a diminutive.

We now come to the *cu* and *maol* class of names. The only name with *cù* as prefix that has come down to our time is connected with the pipers Rankin of Mull. They were known as Clann Duilidh, but the name was Conduiligh among the family. This is Cù-dùiligh, translated by O'Donovan as *avidus canis*, though *dùiligh* seems rather a genitive than an adjective, from *dùil*. These Rankins had a "college" at Kilbrennan, on the Torloisk estate, Mull. The last professor was "Eoghan MacEachain 'ic Chonduiligh" circ. 1754. Neil Rankin is mentioned by Johnson in his tour of 1773. Neil, who died in 1819, had a large family, some of his sons entering the army, and some going to Prince Edward Island. Of these Major Conndulli Rankin distinguished himself in the American war of 1812-4, and in 1837 in the Prince Edward land agitation, siding with the people. It is a curious fact that Conduiligh is given in the 1450 MS. as great-great-grandfather to Gilleoin, ancestor and name-giver to the

Macleans. He was Abbot of Lismore, and had two brothers, Cu-catha and Cu-sidhe; from the former came the Clan Concath of Lennox (not identified); from the latter the Clan Consith of Fife (unidentified). Their father was Raingce (circ. 1100-1150), which can hardly be separated from the later Rankin, though this name seems English, a diminutive of Randolph. It is remarkable to find in Ireland a contemporary chief called Oengus mac mic Rancáin, surety to a charter in the Book of Kells. M'Rankin was a name known in Glencoe and in Ayrshire. We have Duncan M'Donchie Vc Crankane in Glencoe, 1617, and Johne Oig M'Frankeine, servitor at Dunan in Rannoch, 1618; while in Glengirvane, Ayr, in 1563, we find Henry M'Rankyne, Neil M'Rankyne, in Glen-gorane, by Maybole, in 1608, and Neil Ranking or M'Ranking on Blaquhan estate under Kennedy of Blaquhan in 1610. The Highland Rankins (Glencoe, &c.), are in Gaelic called individually Mac Raing.

The words *maol* and *gille* give almost numberless names, some of them now difficult to unravel. The former is popular in Ireland, the latter in Scotland, where *maol* is rather rare, compared to *gille*. In fact, *gille* usurps the place of *maol* in very many cases. They both mean much the same when placed before a saint's name: Maolcaluim and Gillecaluim both mean "devotee of St Columba." Whereas *gille* is used only with saints' names and adjectives—save in the cases of Gille-'bhràtha, "Servant of Judgment," whence M'Giilivray, and Gill'-onfhaidh, "Servant of Storm," *macl* can be used with nouns of all kind, concrete and abstract. Maol-onfhaidh, "Servant of Storm," is Donald Du of Lochiel's father; but, as usual, *maol* gave way here even to *gille*, and later we have Gill'-onfhaidh or Gillony, whence the M'Gillonys or M'Louvies of Strone, an old sept of the Camerons. We may suspect that as Gill'-onfhaidh replaced Maol-onfhaidh, so Gille-bhràth, of M'Gillivray, must have replaced an older Maol-brátha. Maol-betha seems to have been a side form of Mac-beth, "son of life;" for we find from the Saxon Chronicle that in 1031 Canute got submission from King Malcolm and two other kings—Maelbaethe and Jehmarc. This is no doubt Macbeth, King of Moray; and it is to a certain extent a proof of this that in Macbeth's country of Moray the name still exists. There is and was a sept of the MacBeans—the clan which really now represents the name Macbeth—in Alvie known locally as Clann 'Ac-Al-bheatha, Clan M'Malbeth. This is explained locally in true mythic fashion. The first of the race was a child found on Alvie moor after the Culloden flight; he was fair-haired, and

found under a birch bush *(geal beith)*, hence the foundling was called Mac-geal-bheith, "white son of the birch." It is needless to comfute this even by pointing out the misuse of *geal*. The name undoubtedly is Maol-beatha, "servant of life."

About 1100 *maol* still held supremacy over *gille*: in the Book of Deer we have 10 or 11 names with *mal* as prefix as against 7 with *gille*. Thus: Mal-brigde, "St Bridget;" Mal-bricin, "St Bricin" (from *breac*); Mal-echi or Mal-aechin, probably "St Eochaid;" Mal-colum, "St Columba;" Mal-giric, better Malkirc (circ. 1214), "St Cyricus;" Mal-mori, "St Mary;" Mal-petri, "St Peter;" and without saint names—Mal-duib (gen.), "Black;" Male-donni, no doubt Mael-dùin, "Fort-Chief" (*mál*, chief, confused with *maol*), but possibly "Brown devotee;" and Mal-snecte, "servant of snow." Of these Maolbrighde, Maol-peadair, Maolmoire, Maolcolum survived, the former two early giving way to *gille* forms. Maoldubh and Maoldonn also resnlted in gille forms. The *gille* names in the Book of Deer are: Gille-brite, "St Bridget;" Gille-calline, "St Callín," no doubt (circ. 464), an Irish saint, known in Rogart as St Callen (Sir Robert Gordon). with which compare Malcallan, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, about 1180; Gille-comded, "the Lord's *gille*;" Gille-crist, "Christ's;" Gille-micel, "St Michael;" Gille-pelair, "St Peter;" and Gillendrias, "St Andrew." These all survived, save the second and third (but we have Gylchomedy, the King's cook, in the west in 1379), for many centuries as Christian names, and Gilleoriosd is not dead yet as such, Englished as Christopher or Christin. Gille-bride was a favourite name, and the surname is still known in Perthshire, &c.—M'Ilvride (Gaelic Mac 'Ilbhrìd; Arran M'Bhrìdein)—where in olden times it was also much used, as in the Lordship of Doune (Makilbred, Makgilbred, M'Gilbrid, 1489-1490), M,Ilvreid, 1612; the Archdeacon of the Isles in 1476 was a M'Ylwyrd, which puzzling form is cleared by a correcter one in 1480—Makkilbreid. In English MacBride now stands for it, and for the side form M'Bhrìdein, Latinised Bridinus, which also was a common Christian name. Gillemichel, Gillandrais, and Gillepheadair are now represented, as is Malcolm and Gillecolum, by the saints' names simply—Michael, Aandra, Peadair, and Callum. It is so with the other saints' names also.

The commonest of the *maol* names in olden times were Maol-moire and Maol domhnaich, or "Lord's Devotee;" these have survived till the present day, in the Isles especially. They are Englished respectively by Miles and Ludovick. The former has some resemblance to Maolmoire—the Irish translate their Maol mordha,

"mighty lord," also by Miles—but Ludovick and Maol domhnaich have nothing in common in form or meaning. The name was common in Glen-Urquhart—Muldonich often in the 1545 tenants' list—and the name Ludovick or Lewis, "Famed warrior," was a favourite Grant name. This may account for the interchange. Maoliosa, "Christ's Devotee," was a favourite all along—known to Scotch history as Malise and to modern surnames as Mellis—until the greater favourite Gilliosa or Gillies ousted it two centuries ago. Gillies itself is now dead as a Christian name. After *mac* in surnames and patronymics, it is difficult in this name and in many others to decide whether we have *maol* or *gille* to deal with: both aspirate the first letter, which practically disappears, and all there is to guide us is the timbre of the vowel before *l*. We know that M'Aldonich (1723, a sept of the Buchanans) is for M'Mhaol-domhnaich; the name Gille-domhnaich is very rare (yet Andrea M'Giiledonich and M'Yldonich, 1504, in Easter Ross). But it is sometimes difficult to say in the case of M'Olchallum —a common form in the Black Book of Taymouth—if we have always M'Mhaolchalum, for both Maolcalum and Gillecalum were used then seemingly indifferently. The surname M'Leish appears in 1542 as Makleis (Muthill), which points to M'Gillios, as does the modern form itself; but the Black Book of Taymouth has again *maol* forms: M'Coleis (1638); in the Privy Council Records—1613 for North Perthshire—Maleis M'Colleyis; and in the Iona charter of 1580, Gillechrist Og M'Culeis. Against this place the patronymic (Argyle, 1596) M'Ilchallum Vc Ilishe.

Maoldomhnaich was a favourite name among the early Earls of Lennox—Maldounech (1225) and Maldovenus (1235), comes of Levenach. We have also Maldofeni M'Gillemychelmor in Luss in 1300. The form is also Maldouiny. This must not be confused with Maldwinus or Maldunus, the name of the 8th bishop of St Andrews (circ. 1055) and Moldone Farquharsone, Rainy of Easter Ross, and Muldoune in Urray, both in 1507; this is the ancient Maeldúin as already mentioned in connection with the Book of Deer. The name Brown sometimes represents Gaelic M'Ille-dhuinn, and possibly also the older M'Mhaoildhuinn. St Congal is the patron in the name Maol-conail: Mulconeill M'Neil N°Nicoll. Trotterness in 1624; he is Malaneill Maknicoll in 1581, the "officiar" of the district. The old Galwegian name of Molegan or Muligan appears in Strathtay in 1480 as Mulikyn M'Gillane: modern Gaelic Maolagan, Old Irish Máelecán, a double diminutive of *maol*, whence the surname Milligan. The following are the undoubted names of Culdees in the early charters and

records, 1100 to 1300): Malcolm, Malkirg, Malbride, Malpol, Gillefali, Mathalan, Cormac, Sithach, and the foreign names John, Andrew, and Bricius. The latter name has probably given M'Elfrish, that is, M'Gille-Bhris; compare M'Elroy from M'Gilroy, "red lad." Among the Culdee names *maol* is commoner than *gille*, as in the Book of Deer. The only Scottish king's name in which *maol* appears is Malcolm; there is no *gille* name on the Kings' list of names. Two names of legend should here be mentioned: Maolciaran (St Ciaran), whose sad fate it was to be the last of the Picts; and Maolruanaidh, "Champion Devotee," who appears in the beautiful lullaby of "Maolruanaidh a' Ghlinneachain."

Gille is used either with saints' names or with the commoner adjectives descriptive of personal characteristics: Gille-Brighde, Gille-bàn, "fair *gille*." The word *gille* is much corrupted after *mac;* the *g* disappears, and the first syllable becomes *il* or *ill*, as in Gill' Sheathain, M'Illeathain, and, lastly, simple *l* for *ill*—M'Leathain, now in English M'Lean, "St John's slave." The Black Book of Taymouth, among others, shows extraordinary curtailments of this kind: M'Lechrist for M'Ille-chriosd; M'Levorrie or Maklivorrie for M'Ille-mhoire; M'Lehoan for M'Gille-chomhghain, "St Comgan"; M'Lephadrick for M'Gillephadraig; and M Lecheir and Maklinow for M'Gille-chiair and M'Gille-naoimh. Indeed, *l* after *mac* usually indicates a curtailed *gille*.

Names more or less familiar in an English garb will be taken first of the *gille* and saint names:—

St Adamnan: also a peculiar Scotch double diminutive, Adhagan (= Adamacán), whence the Strathtay sept name M'Lagan (the first *a* is long); in 1529, in Strathtay, Don. Maklaagan, which shows the vowel long; Geo. M'Lagane, Dunkeld, 1587, Dunc. M'Clagane, minister of Logierait, 1632. The name Gill' Adhamnain was a favourite M'Neill name—Gilleownan Makneill, 1427, Gilleganan Makneill, 1545, and in 1456 Gillewan, Gillonan Maknele of Barra in 1517, Gillownane M'Neill in Islay, 1686. The famous MS. of 1450 gives a genealogy of the Clan "Mhic Gillaagamnan," which Skene fancied wrongly to be the M'Lennans.

St Bridget: Gille-Brighde, whence M'Ilvreed, still a Perthshire name, and M'Bride (Gaelic, MacBhrìdein). As a personal name, Gille-brighd is common all along, from the Book of Deer downwards.

St Bricius, the Gaulish 5th century saint. His name was a favourite personal name from 1100 to 1300—as Bishop

Bricious of Moray; now it is the Scotch surname Bryce. M'Elfrish seems from M'Ill' Bhris.

St Ernan: Gaelic Iarnan, Latinized Ferreolus, "Iron-one." Hence M'Learnan. This is Gillevernan in the Black Book of Taymouth, from Mo-Ernán, "My St Ernan." More common is Gille Mernock, from Mo-Ernóc. Gille-mernock M'Gillanders in Ayrshire in the 12th century, Gillimernock M'Eane V'Connachie, Laragis, Argyle, 1622. As a surname: John M'Ilvarnak, 1579, Fynnart of Luss, Don. M'Illevernock is in the Black Book of Taymouth, 1627, the same name belongs to a servant of the Archdeacon of the Isles, 1678, and Arch. Graham or M'Illevernock was last Bishop of the Isles (1680-90). In short, M'Gille-Mhearnaig is the Gaelic for Graham in Argyle, popularly explained as from Gille-bhearnaig, "servant of the bite" or *greim*, that is, *Graham!* A sept of Grahams must have got this name from an ancestor, or the M'Ilvernocks adopted the landlord's name of Graham, Duke of Montrose, who held the Buchanan and other lands.

St Fillan: Gaelic Faolan. Hence Gill' fhaolain, whence Eng. Gilfillan. Gilfillane M'Patrick gives bond to Glenorchy, 1573; in fact, it appears often as a Christian name in the Black Book of Taymouth. In a Lennox charter of 1217, it is Gilfelan. Two clan names are hence: M'Lellan, that is, M'Gill' Fhaolain, and M'Killigan, which in Gaelic is M'Gill' Fhaolagain, double diminutive of *faol*, wolf. M'Killican was famous as an ecclesiastical name in Easter Ross in the 17th century, and its habitat since 1600 was Ross and Moray.

St Finnan, St Findoc or Fintoc. This also gives two sept names: M'Lennan and M'Lintock. M'Linton, from Finntan, was also known. M'Lennan appears in Ayr and Wigton as John M'Clynyne, 1529, and M'Clanan, 1592. The Ross-shire clan is a branch of the Mackenzies. The M'Lintocks belong to Luss and thereabout. The Dean of Lismore has M'Gillindak. M'Lintok, two, in Balloch, 1607; they Englished themselved as Lindsay as early as 1611. On this Allan Dall, in his poem to the Lochaber Volunteers in 1795, says:—

Ciamar théid na h-uaislean cruinn
Gun *Lindsay* 'bhith san àirimh
Ga 'n ainm Cailean Mac Illiùntaig
Le thionndadh an Gàidhlig.

St Ibar. This gives Gill Ibhair, whence possibly M'Liver; the i of the latter, however, is long. It is an Islay name; Lord Clyde was really a M'Liver, not a Campbell. John Roy M'Gilliver, Islay, 1686; Ewne M'Finla VcGillevir, Kilchoan, 1618; also M'Ileur, Islay, 1733. It is confused often with M'Clure.

St John. John in Gaelic is Iain; it was also anciently Eóin and Seathan. From the latter comes the usual form of M'Lean. The Christian name was usually Gilleóin (1326, Gilhon). Hence the English Gilleon.

St Thomas. Gaelic is now Tòmas; but older dialects had Támhas, whence M'Tavish. Gil-Tavish appears as M'Laws and M'Lehose. Gilles Makgilhoise was keeper of the Royal Park at Stirling, 1479; Pat. Makgilhois, Kippen, 1510; J. Makgilhewous, Menteith, 1465 and 1622 M'Ilhoise; Duncan M'Ilhaos is one of Dunolly's men in 1623. Gille-Thomas, Dunfermline Charters, 1230.

The *gille* names of Gillies and Gilchrist, already discussed, give M'Leish and M'Gilchrist.

There are in Gaelic several M'Gille names that have other renderings in English. St Mary gives Gillemoire, a favourite name, whence M'Illemhoire, Englished as Morrison, a strong sept in Lewis about 1600. M'Illemhichail, from Michael, is now Carmichael—really an Ayrshire place-name. A sept of M'Donalds in Benderloch are called in Gaelic singly M'Ille-Dhonaghart, from St Domangart.

Latterly the saints' names were used without the *gille* both in Gaelic and English. Nevertheless the old forms had *gille.* Calum is for Gilliecalum or Maolcolum; the clan name is M'Callum. The following saints' names are now used with *mac* simply, whereas some three to six hundred years ago *gille* was generally prefixed: Patrick; Calumba; Thomas or Tamas; Comgan (M'Ill'Cho'an, now M'Cowan and Cowan); Michael; Paul; Munn (Mo-Fhindu or St Findan, formerly M'Il-mun, now M'Phun and Munn, cousin to M'Lennan and M'Lintock); Martin (regularly of old M'Gillemertyn or such); Andrew (formerly Gillandrais, a favourite personal name, now the surname Gillanders—the Rosses were, as a clan, Clann 'Ic Illanndrais), now, as a sept, M'Andrew. St Catan gave the name Gillechatain, whence "Clann Gillecatan," or "Clann an Toisigh" (MS. 1450), now simply Clann Chatain or Clan Chattan.

The following are obsolete names formed from saints' names with Gille. Only one or two specimens out of many, in some instances, are given :—

Barre. Nevinus M'Gilvar, Wigton, 1430.

Berchan. Gillebarchane M'Kerres, Strachur, 1547; M'Illevarchan, Glenorchy, 1594.

Ciaran. M'Ilcherrane, Bute, 1696.

Coinneach. Makquylquhynnhe, Bute, 1504; Don. M'Gilquhinye, Strathtay, 1480.

Congal. Colano M'Gilcungil, Moray, 1224-31; M'Gilchonil, 1499 (common).

Constantin. Gille-constentin, Dunfermline Charters, 1230. This name has been wonderfully "transmogrified," appearing as Consland (Kilchonsland) and in personal names as Còiseam. M'Còiseams were a sept of the Macintyres, mentioned in the 17th century, and rendered famous in literature by Duncan Ban calling his gun Nic Còiseam. There is a sept of Macdonalds still living not far from Dunvegan known as Mac Còiseam.

Eochaidh. Hence, aeemingly, the common Galwegian name Makgilhauch(e), 1426, &c.; Makclouch, 1500.

Eoghan. Malc. M'Illewyne, Glenorchy, 1582. The Makillewynes gave their "bond" to Glenorchy in 1585.

Lughaidh. Molu'oc. Gillemolooc, St Andrew's Priory Charters, 12th century; Gyllemallouock Macnakeeigelle, bondman, Badenoch, 1234.

Michael: Michin. Gillimichin M'Rowtalgar, Atholl, 1622.

Serf or Servanus. Gille.serf, Dunfermline charters, 1230; M'Gilherf, Galloway, 1296.

Talorgan. Gylletalargan, Aird, 1206-31.

The use of *gille* with one or two names denoting ecclesiastical office falls now to be noticed. Gill' Easbuig or Gilleasbuig means the "Bishop's gille," and was very common both in Scotland and Ireland. The first Campbell mentioned in our records was Gillespic Cambell of Menstrae and Sauchie in 1266, and the Campbells ever after showed a fondness for the name. It has been Englished as Archibald; possibly the *arch*, since it appears in *arch-bishop*, may have suggested the correlation of the names. Otherwise there is no connection either in sound or roots. Archibald means "Right Bold." No M'Lespick has survived, but the border and Lowland Gillespie is therefrom. Gille-clery appears in the 12th century as the name of an Earl of Mar—Gylleclery;

M'Gilclerich, Lochtay, 1480. There are several cases of Mac Gill'Pherson, or "Parson's gille;" Malcolm M'Ilfersane, Islay, 1614; Johnne M'Eane V^c^ Bayne V^c^ Ilphersane, Cawdor, 1613; and Alexander M'Ilfersane, minister of Kinloss, 1618. The only other case of such names—and one that is still with us—is the interesting one of Gille-Deòradh, the Dewar's or Pilgrim's *gille*. The Gaelic *deòradh*, Irish *deóraidh*, meant a pilgrim originally, but the function of the Scottish Dewars in historic times was to be keepers of Saints' relics, especially in the case of St Fillan's crozier. It is now the surname Dewar or M'Indeor, the former common in Perthshire, and the latter in Argyle, and especially in Islay. The clan Dewar appears in the 14th century, in connection with Glendochart, as possessors of the Coygerach or crozier of St Fiilan; the lands of Evich, in Glendochaart, are in 1336 confirmed to Donald M'Sobrell *dewar Cogerach*, "the Dewar or anchorite of the crozier." Finlay Jore has his Coygerach rights reaffirmed in 1428, Malice Doïre has a renewal of the same in 1487 under letters from the Privy Seal. In 1552 the Dewar lands, which were hitherto free, are made to pay taxes, being regularly feued then to Malise Dewar; the Campbells got them in 1575, sold by Donald Dewar; who, however, gets other lands for them. He is called Donald Makindeora vic Cogerach in Glenorchy's charter. The Coygerach relic was in Malice Doire's possession at Kiilin in 1782, though the Dewars were then landless. After emigrating to America with the family, the crozier of St Fillan is now happily in the Edinburgh Museum. There were other Dewars who had other relics of St Fillan—the Dewars of the Bernan or bell, Dewar-na-Ferg, or of the mallet (?); Dewar-na-Mayne (Dewar of the Hand), and *Deore de Meser*, or Dewar of the Basin; the five relics being thus the crozier, bell, mallet, hand and basin of the Saint. There were Dewars and Dewar lands at Kilmahug in Menteith, at Muckairn, in Lismore (for the *bachul mór* of St Moluag), and at Strowan in Strathearn.

The name appears now in the English forms of Dewar and M'Indeor, both extending back to the 15th century. The form M'Doir appears in the Dingwall Presbytery Records (John M'Doir, Kiltearn, 1672), besides M'Indoir (Kiltearn, 1684). It is common in the Black Book of Taymouth, as M'Yndoir (1560) and allied forms. There are three Gaelic forms—Deòr, M'An-deòir, and M'Ill' dheòra or M'Ill' eòra (Islay); the latter means the Son of the Dewar's-*gille*. Gille-dheòra is parallel to Gilleasbuig, Gille-phearsoin, and Gillecléirich, already discussed. Gille-deòradh rarely appears in an English dress, such as M'Leoir and, sometimes,

M'Lure. The Ayrshire and Galwegian M'Clure or M'Lure seems to be M'Ghilluidhir, but the Skye M'Leoirs or M'Lures belong to the Dewar derivation. It is right to say that M'Illeòra has been explained (as by Dr Maclachlan) as "Servant of the Book," where there are both phonetic and historic difficulties. The name is known in Galloway and Dumfries as M'George now, but in olden times it was M'Jore or M'Joir (latter in Dumfries, 1565, M'Joyr, 1601), for it can be traced in one family thus—John M'Jore, Urr of Kirkcudbright, 1691, father of John M'Jore, Cocklick, Urr, 1710, and then comes John M'George of Cocklick in 1751.

Gille was also used with adjectives to form some Christian names, and patronymics in a much greater number. The reason for this disparity of use is simple: the *gille* plus the adjective was more commonly a nick-name than a Christian name, as "An Gille Dubh," "Mac a' Gille-dhuibh," &c. The commonest and most assured of such as a Christian name is Gillenaomh. This in Irish, however, was Gille-nan-naomh. In the 12th century the Christian name is Gillenem (Melrose Charters), the next century Gillnef (Carrick and Strathearn) as well, which appears in Bute as Gilneff (1566), though the usual charter and record form is Gilnew. The surname is Mac-Ghillenaoimh, Englished as M'Niven, which is really from Noomhan, a very common name four or five hundred years ago, Latinised as Nevinus. It was a favourite in Galloway and Ayr, where also M'Nevin appeared (1598, 1600 in Wigton, for example). The M'Nivens were the possessors of the Barony of Dunachton till the heiress married Mackintosh in 1497, and the name of M'Gillenaoimh is still connected with the "Erd-house," near Relleville, in Badenoch. The M'Nivens were connected with the M'Naughtons in Argyle; they held farms round Lochawe, and there is M'Niven's Island in Loch Mor of Craignish. They also migrated to Islay. One of Barbreck's followers in 1623 was Duncan M'Nicoll V'Nevin.

Other examples of *gille* with an adjective doing duty as a personal name are—with *ciar*, Gilleker M'Mulich, Strathtay, 1480; with *dubh*, Galloduf (1224, Paisley Charters), Gildow M'Paye, Perth, 1471; with *glas*, Gilleglass M'Dawy, vicar of Petty, 1462, and the Dean of Lismare's poet—In Gille-glas M'Intalyr; with *odhar*, Martin's Gilleouir M'Crain, the ducentenarian who died fifty years before his time in Jura; with *mòr*, Gillemoir M'Ilerith, Luss, 1610.

The commonest patronymic and surname of this form is M'Ghille-riabhaich, which was popular both in Galloway (and Ayr) and in the Highlands generally. In the former district it appears as M'Ilwraith (Mackilwraith, Carrick, 1538, Makilreve

Dumfries, 1539). The name still exists in Uist, but is swallowed up in English by Macdonald. In fact, Buchanan (1723) says the M'Ilrevies were a sept under Clanranald. The usual written form is M'Gillereoch, but we have M'Gillereith (Benbecula, 1622, M'Gillirick (Abertarff, 1634), M'Gillerawyth (Glenlochy, 1506). The surname appears in Glasgow *now* as M'Ilriach. It is and was a Kintyre name, so inscribed on tombstones some two generations ago—Macillriach, but to-day it is curtailed to the Anglified form of Revie! The term Mac-an-Riabhaich is an opprobrious one in Gaelic: Son of the Brindled One it means as it stands, and *riabhach* is thus regarded as another name for the Devil, as it was also the title of *the* Campbell of Ardkinglas. But the *an* here is for Iain, "John," and Iain Dubh is a mild sobriquet for the Devil, just as Iain Riabhach seems to have been.

Gille-dubh undergoes some puzzling transformations. It often appears within the last four hundred years as M'Gillewie, a form still existent in Perthshire (Taymouth Black Book, Makgillewie, 1586, M'Illewie, 1638); Inverness, 1545, Makgillewye; and in Braemar and adjacent districts it was common in the 17th century (M'Gillewie, M'Gillivie, M'Gilliwie, M'Gillavie, 1699). It is also a present day surname as M'Aldowy. M'Gilleduff, Petty, 1502, shows a well-preserved form. Six Appin M'Ildeus or Blacks were in the 1745 Rebellion.

The following is a list of the most prominent patronymics and surnames formed with *gille* and adjectives:—

Bàn. The great Ayrshire family of M'Gilvain or M'Gilwain of Grummet; also M'Ilvane (Argyle, 1600), M'Gillebane (Dingwall, 1555). Now M'Ilwain and Whyte.

Buidhe. M'Ilbowie, Islay, 1733, but now simply Buidhe—Alasdair Buidhe. English Buie.

Carrach. John Makgillendris Makgillecarryth, Dalcross, 1502.

Ciar. The M'Gillekeyrs were a sept under Glenorchy, to whom they gave their bond in 1547, owning him as their "kenkynie." The name is common all over the north.

Crom. M'Ilchrom, Monteith, 1612; M'Ghille-chruim is Englished as Crum.

Donn. M'Ghillè-dhuinn; Eng. Brown.

Dubh. Discussed above.

Garbh. M'Illegarff (Black Book of Taymouth, where it is common).

Gobhlach. M'Ghillegholich, Glenlyon, 1706; doubtless they were Campbells.

Glass. M'Gilleglas is a very common name. Its side-form is M'Glaisean, now M'Glashan. The name Glaisean was used. Glaschen M'Gow, Dumfallandy, 1473. Glaisean Gobha, tradition says, was one of Lovat's men in 1493.

Gorm. M'Ghilleghuirm ; an Argyle name, translated Blue. Gillegorm was a hero of the Maclennans, ancestor of the Lobars.

Maol. M'Gille-mhaoil is a very usual Gaelic for M'Millan, which also is rendered M'Mhaoilein. Hucheon Makgille-muill (Nairn, 1492).

Mór. Gillemór. Used as both Christian name and surname. M'Gillivoir, Boleskine, 1674.

Molach. Makillevollach (Black Book of Taymouth, 1585).

Manntach. Donald Macgillivantic, Crathie, Laggan, 1806, a Macdonald really. Clann Mhic-Ghill-Mhanntaich were a sept of the Brae Lochaber Macdonalds.

Naomh. Already considered.

Odhar. M'Gille-uidhir. Hence M'Clure, M'Lure, common in Galloway and thereabouts, of old and at present. Sir Herbert Maxwell explains M'Lure as M'Luibhir or Leper's son.

Ruadh. M'Ghille-ruaidh : Makilroy (Bute, 1529). The Black Book of Taymouth has M'Culroy (1638). The English is Gilroy.

17th FEBRUARY, 1898.

The paper for this evening's meeting was the second portion of an interesting contribution by Rev. John Kennedy, Arran, on "Poems from the Maclagan MSS.," which was as follows :—

POEMS FROM THE MACLAGAN MSS.

Oran do Dhonull Gorm,

Tainistear Ghlinne-Gara, a thuit an Raon-ruaruidh,

Le Nighinn Mhic 'ic Raonuill a bhean féin.

1

Cha d' fhuair mi 'n rair cadal
Air leaba 's mi 'm onar,
Ach ag smuain air an t-aiteas (cuimhneach an)
A chleachd mi as m' òige,

Mar re Tainisteoir beachdoil
Ga 'm biodh meas agus mòr-chuis
Ard Chrùnoir nam bratach;
Ceud nan creach a nach beò thu!

2

Och nan och gur mi 'n t-Oisein (an tuireadh)
'S mi mar choslas Maol-chiarain;*
Tha mo chridh' air a dhochnadh
Mar gu'n gòirticheadh sciau e;
Air a lionadh do thùrsadh
Mar cuidich thu Righ mi;
Cha 'n fhaod mi bhi fallain
'S nach mairthionn mo chiad-ghràdh.

3

'S e do latha Raoin-ruaruidh
Dh' fhag luaineach mi m' inntinn;
Chaill mi sealgair na beinne
Mar re oireachdas frithe;
'Nuair a thigeadh tu dha-thigh (dhachuidh)
Cha bhiodh tacar a dhith orm;
Och nan ochoin mo leonadh
Dh' fhàg sibh Donull 'na shìneadh.

4

Fhuair mi crannchur nach b' fhiù mi
Dol an tùs an aois m' òige,
Ann an inbhe 's an onair,
'S ann an oireachtas mòr-chuis',
Ann an rioghalachd pearsa,
'S ann an cleachdannuibh mòra;
Iar-ogha Raonuill nam bratach,
S e do leagadh a leòn mi.

5

Ceist nam ban o chill-iona, (-iana)
'S trom lionta do d' ghràdh mi, (liointe)
Mheud 's a thug mi do m' spéis duit
Dh' fhàg fui éislein gu brath mi;
'S e chuir ceil air mo radharc (mail')
Nach taghaill thu t-àros; ('n t-àite)
Ge d' fhaighinn mo roghainn
Dol ad dhiaidh 'se b' fhearr leam.

* Am fear mu dheireadh de na Cruithnich.

6

O 's maith thig dhuit bogha
Cruaidh foghainteach laidir,
Agus teafaid chaol scorrach
Bheireadh ceannuich a Flandras;
Mar re glac a chinn leathainn,
'N deis a fadhairt o'n chearduich;
Sud air geal-ghlac mo chridhe
Dheanadh Siothann mar b' ail leam. (Bhiodh)

7

'S maith thig cloidheamh air chrios duit,
Air do shlios air dheadh chàradh,
Agus targaid nan inneal
Air an t-slinnein nach scathach:
'S mi gun earbadh sud asad,
Dol an cathuibh do nàmhuid (baiteal)
'S tu b' urradh ga chasgadh
'Nuair a lasad tu 'n t-àrdan. (lasadh ort)

7A

Alias—'S maith thig cloidheamh air chrios duit
Air do shlios mar bu dual duit,
Agus breacan caol daite,
'N (fh)eile phreasuich mu'n cuairt duit; (dhosuich)
'N uair a ghlacadh tu 'n claidheamh
'S ghabhadh tu 'n cruadal,
'S mairg fear do mhio-rùine
Air am bruchdadh am fuathas.

8

O 's maith thig dhuit gunna
Beirt nach fhuras leam àicheadh
(Or, Beirt a b' fhurus sud fhaodain)
Ann do làimh bu mhaith cuimseadh,
Bu neo-iomarlach lamhach;
'N àm dol air do ghlùn duit
(Or, 'N uair a chaogadh tu 'n t-sùil ris)
Bhiodh t-fhudar 'na smaluibh;
Cha b' fhallainn aig t-éirigh
Mac-an-fhéidh; bu tu namhad.

9

'S maith thig daga ghorm ghlas duit (piostal)
'S i bhi 'n taice re d' chruachainn
Ann an lùbaibh do bhreacain
'N deis a phascadh mu 'n cuairt duit ;
Rinn thu dion dhe do chlaidheamh (de do)
'N uair a chaith thu do luaighe ;
'S mi dh' fhàg deadh fhear an tighe
Ann an latha Raoin-ruadhruidh. *

10

Tha sneachd air Beinn Laomuinn (Loimunn)
'S tha ni' s leor air na Laircibh ;
'S gu 'm facadh mi latha
Gu 'm b' aighireach t-abhaist ;
Teàrnadh 'stigh leis na tòmuibh
Ann an cromadh na faire ;
Gheibhteadh altuchadh beatha
'S fear-an-tighe 'na shlàinte.

11

Ge b' e chuir orm an umhail (chuireadh)
Mi bhi dubhach mu d' dhéibhinn,
Cha d' fhios iad mo ghalar,
'S cha mho dh' fhairich iad fhéin e ;
Bean gun bhrathair gun athair *
Gun fhear-tighe gun chéile,
Gun aon solas foi 'n chruinne
Mur duine bheir déirc dhomh.

12

Cha 'n 'eil air an t-saoghal
Do dhaoinibh no dh' airneis,
No dh' uachtaran finidh,
No chinneach no chairdibh
Aon ni tha mi 'g acain,
(Ge b' ait leam nan slàint' iad)
Ach am fear ud a phòs mi
Gle òg is mi 'm phaistein.

13

Na 'm biodhadh fios an' inntinn (aiguidh)
Aig mnaoi ga 'm biodh cèile,
Air cha chuireadh i dorran
'N fheadh 's a mhaireadh e féin d'i ;

* Thuit a h-athair agus a da bhràthair an àr-fhaich Raon-ruaruidh.

Ge d' fhaighinn do dh' òigridh
Gus am posadh da fhear dheug mi
Cha 'n fhacadh mi 'choslas,
N'a bu docha na 'n ceudfhear.

14

Faic, a Righ, mar tha mise
'S mo chridhe briste mu d' dheibhinn,
'S mi 'n diaidh mo chliscidh
O bu tric leom sud fhaoduin;
Mi gun dùil re sealgbeinne,
No re òireachdas frithere, (frìthe)
Mi gun sòlas foi'n aieir
'S mi gun aiteas gu dìlinn. (aighir)

15

Thàinig mudha le serios orm
Thaobh mo nith is mo dhaoine,
O na dh' fhalbh fear mo thighe
Gun a mhac-samhuil r'a fhaotain;
Mi mar Mhac-Duibhne bha 'n Eirinn,
'S e 'n diaidh Chlanna Baoisge;
S marbhà cridhe aig Deardruidh
'N deis a gràidh thoirt do Naoise.

Och, &c., Gur mi 'n t-Oisen.

Fhuair mi crannchur nach b' fhiù mi
Dol an tùs ann an aois m' òige—
[Four stanzas repeated].

Altach an t-Snaoiskin—Incerto Auctore.

1

Failt ort fein a bhogais
Do chleite mhaith mar ruit;
Du-baca maith biorach donn
A chuireag breim a gearran.

2

Air a lomadh air a phronnagh,
Air a chuir re teine;
Sheachnagh an t-sròin
'S a ruigeadh an t-inchean.

3

Bheireadh an t-anam anns a' chaillich
A chaileagh o cheann sheachd bliadhna;
Nach bheil arc fuail no tiontadh brama
No gne ghalair an adhradh duine.

4

Nach cuireadh e as a dheòin no dh' ain-deoin
Sho ort a shròin, freagair a th—n,
Maith an t-liobairneach snaoisin, Amen a bhogsa!

COMHRADH (AGALLAMH) EDIR
BANRIGHIN ANNA AGUS TIGHEARNA NA H-APPUINN
Le M'Dhonuill Dhail-an-eas.

1

Cha'n iongna 'n Thighearna th' aguinn (a' tharuinn)
A dhol gu farum an tràs oirn:
Cho luathe ràinig e 'n Sity (City)
Na chuaidh grad fhios air o 'n Bhan-righín;
Rug i air edir a lamha,
Cionnus a tha thu Bhiseadaich? (a bheigh is eadaich)
Cionnus tha fear Bhaile-chaoluis,
'S Alastair gaolach, a bhràthair?

2

Cionnus tha fear Airde seala,
'S a chuid eile da na càirdibh?
'S maith leam iad uile bhi fallain
Agus Ailein a Cinneaghearloch:
Dh' fheadagh Ian beag le dhiùsnas (deosach?)
Tamul Gleanndurair fhàgail,
Tha leomsa gu bu mhaith a ghnothach
Tiughin gam' choimhead 's mi 'm Bhanrighín.

3

Cionnus tha fear Inbhar na h-Aile?
B' fhaoineachdach e air luchd fh' àite
Ach chluinn mi ga gù 'n do leam re Doncha
Beagan do dhomblas a' Bhraidha.

B' aithne dhomh féin Ian Mac Shemis,
Bu ro mhaith Bheurla 's a' Ghaoidhleig;
'S maith leam iad gu maith an còmhnuidh
Gu ruig s a Notair, a bhrathair.

4

Ach leigimid an seanchas so tharuinn
Gun a bhi farraid nan cairdin,
Innis domh ciod tha thu sireadh,
Gheabh thu gun philleadh gun spairne;
'S leat airgead is òr r'a iomairt
'S leat ceannas-cinneadh nan Gaoidheal:
Is leomsa sin do thaobh mo bhreatha, (bhreith)
Cha bhi mi ga chleith air bhar gràsaibh.

5

Togaidh mi féin cuig ceud deug dhiubh
Nach bith 'm Breatuinn féin an àicheadh;
Bhios dìleas dhuibh, 's mis air an toiseach,
Ged rachadh sibh chogadh re 'm brathair.
Mar sud 's Loch-ial is Mac Dhughaill
Ge b' oil le Diùc Earraghaoidheal.
'S cha robh agad riabh fear-cinnidh
B' urrainn sine gus an tràsa.

6

Is leam Tuiteir Mhic Leoid na h-Eara
Fir Shrath tharagaig 's na h-Airde
'S leam Tuiteir Chlanna Phearsain
Gach duine th' aige da Phàirtidh.
'N t Alpeineach beag a srath h-Uirdil, (Uardail)
Sin fear ùr a fhuair mi 'n tràs duit.
Tha Morair beag ann am Bealach,
Na h-earb mar charaid gu brath as;
Cha 'n 'eil aig ach beagan daoine,
'S mòran gaoil aig air do bhrathair.

7

Tha coimhearsnach aig ann Drumann,
Sin fear air an d' fhuirich failinn;
Ged o chum thu theachd-an-tir ris
Cha 'n fhaigh thu dhilse no 'chairdeas;

Cha 'n 'eil m' eolus air Diùc Adhail,
O cheann ghrathain, cia mar tha e;
Chunnaig mise uair nach roibh speis dhiot
Aige féin no aig a bhrathair.

8

Sud mo chomhairle dhuit tuille
O'n 's aithneadh dhomh uile mar tha iad
Na h-earb re aon duine th' aca
Ach asams' is as mo chuid Gaoidheal.
Taing dhuibhs' a thighearna na h-Appuinn,
Sibh mo chairid ceart gu dearbha,
Lean mo Threasair, airse 'n ceart uair
S ni e beartach le h-òr dearg thu.

9

Ach an e mac peathar fir Dhail 'n eas
'N Duin' uasal sin 'na sheasamh làimh riut?
Thug mis' is bu chuid do m' ghòruich
Mòran òir do bhrathar a mhathar:
Na 'm biodh m' eolus orts' air thoiseach
Cha tigeadh eisin (easan) co dàn ort.
'S ann do m' charaid féin bu chòire
Dhomhsa 'n t-òr a thoirt 'na mhanraibh.

10

Na'n tigeadh tu 'n toiseach na trioblaid,
'S mise bhith fiosrach mo dhàimh riut,
'S tu chuirinn an àite Mhic Cailein
Chonnsachadh talamh na Spaine.
Thoir dhomhsa lom-Fheachd nan Gaoidheal
Mar is àil leom is dean ar n-aiseag,
Cha tig mi gu bràth da m' dhuthaich
Gus an toir mi 'n crùn leom dha-thigh.

11

Ciod am fios an tugadh tu dhomhs' e,
Is thu fhéin do 'n chrùn co fhagasg?
Cha dean mi gnothach faoi 's 'n iosal
Gun chomhairle dhìleas Shagsan,
Ach o'n thachair dhuit bhi poiste,
Tog leat do chuid òir, s theirig dha-thigh.

DO CHLANN GHRIOGAIR

Le Ailein Mac Ghilleaspuig, Fear Lag-na h-Adhai do theaghlaich Ghleinecoinann.

1

Is beag mo mhulad 's mo phràmh
O na chunnas gur slàn
S gur iad comunn mo ghràidh mu 'm prìseil mi.

2

Sliochd Eoin ud an àigh
Na leomhain gun sgàth
Thug iad mòran do dh' arm 's do riomhaidh dhomh.

3

Siol chonnsmun nan ceud
A b' urranta gleus (treun)
Ris 'n do dhealugh mi 'n dé 's na sciodanaibh.

4

B' ann diubh 'n t-Alastair ruagh
'S Eoin dubh nan lann cruaidh
Leis 'n do chuireadh an ruaig deich mìl orra.

5

'S am Fear buighe nach fann
Do bhuighin nan lann
Lubadh iubhar na meall, 's neo miùr e

6

Luchd luireach is lann
Chuireadh cùl re bhi gann
'S cha bu shugradh ann àm éirigh sibh.

7

Sibh nach seachnadh an t-òl
'S nach taisgeadh an t-òr 2
'S cha bu ghlais air an t-seorsa 'n fhìnealtachd

8

Feadh 's a bha mi 'n ar cuirt,
Na 'm faillneadh mo lùdh,
Gur e b' àil leom n'ar 'n ùir mo thiolacadh.

9

Luchd a thaghadh nan arm,
'S na mnai bu ladhaiche dealbh
'N àm dhuibh luighe 's e b' ail libh sinte ribh.

10

'S moch 's a' mhaduinn air drùchd
Cha bu mhagadh bhar cùis,
'S ann a mach ris na stùic a dhìreadh sibh.

11

'S an deis cnagraich bhar n-òrd
Bhiogh féigh chabrach fo leòn,
Bhiogh na mantuil gun deò 'gan scriobadh dhiubh

12

Clann Ghriogair nan lann
Bhuaileagh creach anns gach camp,
Gur neo-cheachar an dream 's gur rìoghail iad.

AIR SAMUEL JOHNSON

Sagsonach 'nuair a scriobh e ann an aghaidh Albainn.

Le Seumas Mac-an-t Saoir, Fear a Ghleinne Nodha—1775.

1

Cha 'n eil mi creidsin da rìreadh
Gur Iänach friomh na beiste,
'S ann a fhuaradh e re mhathair
Le coigreach le nàtur Bhenuis.

2

Balach gun mhogh lom-làn miosguin,
Tràil tha mi-mhiosail air fhéin e;
An fheòil is fearr nar theid i dholaidh
Dublaidh a boladh air breunaid.

3

Gur tu 'n losgan sleamhuin tarrabhuigh
'S tu maigean tairgneadh nan dìgin;
Gur tu dearc-luachrach an fhàsaich
Re snàg 's re màgaran mioltaich.

4

'S tu bratag screatuigh nam blàran,
'S tu 'n t-sheilcheag ghranna bhog liaghach ;
'S tu 'n cairtein nach furasta tharsain
Uait na tharas tu a t-inghin.

5

Gur tu gart-ghlanadh a' ghàraidh,
'S tu soplach is moll na fasgnaig,
Ann àm siol reachdar a chathadh,
'S tu tom oghar tombaca.

6

Gur tu stad feachda o blàraibh,
Gur tu croman-luch na h-ealtuin ;
'S tu nois mir cagnaidh nam barda,
Measg nan iasg s tu 'n dallag mhurlaich ;

7

No bhiast mhùgach sin mac lamhaich,
'S tu 'n t-isein a meaghan na bréine,
Am broc 's a shròin na chèir tri raighin,
A mhial-chaorach da 'n ainm an t-shéilm.

8

Salach an spréidh tha dhuit partach,
'S mar bhioghadh nach toigh leam ainm Eisgidh
Gu'n dùraigin féin do scrailleadh.

LE GILLEASBUIG RUAGH MAC DHONCHAIDH

AN DEIS A CHREACHADH TRI UAIREAN.

Mile marbh fhasg ort a shaoghail,
S mairg bheireadh taoibhsin do d' ghealladh,
Bheir thu ni do na daoidhin,
'S fàgadh tu na saoighin falamh.
Air na maithibh is olc t-aithne,
'S dha 'na daithibh thug tu 'n daighinn ;
'S o na chuaidh tu orm air aimh-readh
Carth' aimh-leis dhiot, a shaoghail.

LEIS AN TI CHEUDNA.

'S binn gach glòir o'n duine bheirteach,
'S searbh a' chòir o'n aim-beirteach,
'S cian o'n aim-beirteach bhi glic,
'S mil' o'n bheirteach an gabhunn.

Fear a' chroidhe 's e gun nì,
'S fhad a shuighe shìos o chach,
Air meud a mhogh' a bhitheas na chorp
'S iomad lochd a gheabhar dha.

'S ionnan sin is mar tha mi
'S soilleir dhomh fhéin mar a tha,
Gach aon fhear ag suigheadh suas
'S mi nuas ann coineamh mo mhais.

Marbhfhasg air an ainnir,
'S mairg air am faigh i tréine
Thug i ormsa le feamachas
Beannachadh do Mhac-Ian-leath.

AILEIN MOR MAC DUGHAILL MHORTHAIR

DO BHARD MHIC LEOID.

1

Thusa bhaird chinnich nan dronn,
Chuir mar innisg orm bhi gann,
Cia 'n taobh a dh' imich do chom
A ghoill chrom fo minig an t-saill?

2

Com a' ghiomaich agus brù lom
Aig an t-shiocasglach nan gann, (worthless one)
'S lionmhor, s tu spioladh nan conn (clews)
Sruth ronn a sileadh le d' dhream.

3

'S lionmhor mu bhunaibh do chluas
Garbh-iongnach 's a spuir ann sàs;
'S deacair a chìreadh re luas
Falt grisionn is crion a dh' fhàs.

4

'S tric a bha thu anns a' chùil
Agus cùl do chinn re làr,
Gach aon fhear a theid a mh—n
Bhiogh sud ann sùil a' bhaird.

5

Bu mhinig na coin ag trod
Mu leaba fudag-a-dud,
Agus gu tric mìle clod
Air flod mu thimchioll do ghuib.

6

Thàinig Lucifer air chuairt,
Do Dhunbheagain nan cuach làn,
Luidh e le Apa Mhic Leoid,
Is rinn bard an scornain àird.

O Ian Mac Neill a Barra.

Leis a Bhearrtha cuir da aon, (February)
A leith sa' Mhairt, dha san April,
Triùir 'sa Mhai do d' mheanmna,
Cearthar 'sa Iuin no co-leanmhuinn,
Cuig le Iuli a's glan grian,
Se le August ni 'n droch ciall,
Iar a h-ochd le September,
Ochd le October,
Nobhember da chuig gun chol,
December deich a dhlithear,
Aois do reitheach a ta
An lo d' an mhis 's an Epac.

O Dhunachai Mac Mhaol-Domhnuich.

Far mile agus chuig ceud
Cùnt sud na naoi-deug,
Linn na corra-bhliadhna mar sin.
Uibhir oir na bliadhna sin
Airthear leat an uibhir oir,
Aon uair deûg 's ni dal ea-coir,
Ag deanamh thriachad dhiubh gu beachd,
Am bi da eis an Epac.

Suim do mios o mhàrt a mhain
An Epac 's an la do 'n mhi
Os cionn tri cheud, fui ge b' e
Aois do reithe dhe do ni.

[The following poem is without name].

1

'N ainm an Riogh deanmin tùs,
Air mheinmin tha ma rùin,
Cha ni 'n aimsir mu'n dùin an Ceitein oirn.

2

'N am faicinn loinghis an Righ,
Cur a spionnadh gu tìr
Cha 'n e Uilliam tha mi cho deidheil air.

3

Ach Riogh Seumus 's a shiol
A dh' orduigh Dia bhi 'gar dion,
Cha Riogh eile ga 'm fiach dhuinn gèileachdain.

4

Ach mur d'tig thu air ball
'S do leindibh-criosa 'gan call,
'S ceud misde leum thall 'san Eiphit thu.

5

'N comunn ciotalach tlà
Shuidhe 'n ionad nan Stàite,
Cha chuir Miti na Sàtan seula ris.

6

Oighre dligheach a chrùin,
Thriall sibh shnaidh fur glùn,
Sgrios gun aidhir gun chliù, gun chèti oirbh

7

Gach aon là dol sios
Goimh gach cloidh 'nar bian (claidheamh)
Coin a caith 'n diol air sleibhte dhibh.

8

Gort is measgun is cradh,
Bhi 'gar claoidhe gu bàs,
Air ar sliochd mar bha àl nan Eiphiteach.

9

Paca sligheach nan cealg
Ga mu dligheach a mheirg,
Dhubh am fitheach le salachar egair sibh.

10

Cha 'n e m Bràdair còir
A ghlac sibh air thòs,
Fear-an-tighe nach bu chòir bu pheann (?) duibh. (ean)

11

Air a' bhruach a stad
Os cionn dubhar nam bad,
Bha luchd còir na siubhal gu grad nan reubalaich.

12

Ann 'sa bhea(tha) bheag òg,
Bha fui bhaile mhic-Sheòrs',
Gur ioma fear sroil bha reubaid ann. (iuma)

13

Fhuair sibh dionnal 'sa choill
Le lannaibh shiol Chuinn,
Chuir ar deanaibh air tuinn trom chreuchdach sibh.

14

Gràdh an t-Alastair dubh
O Ard gharradh nan sruth,
Chuireadh 'nan siubhal gu tiugh na Reubalaich.

15

Do bhrathair eile Ian òg
Dhaonaich peileir tridh fheòil,
'S caol a thearainn thu beò o'n speulaireachd.

16

'Nuair a bhruchd t-uaisle a mach,
Cha Scaobh bhuachailean mhart
Ach luchd-bhualadh nan cnap gu speuradail.

17

Clann Donuill an àigh
Luchd a choisuich gach blàir,
Cha do ghabh iad riamh sgàth roimh reubalach.

18

Rinnruairidh nam bad
'S lionmhor uaigh is corp rag,
Fuil na sluagha(ibh) air stad air feur a muigh.

19

Ach a Chlèbhars nan each
Bu cheanna feadhna thu air feachd,
Mu la dèurach 's mo chreach mar dh' eirich dhuit.

20

'N leoghan fulan(g)ach garg
Rinn an teine ort mi-shealbh,
Bhuail am peileir fui earbul t-eididh thu.

21

'Nuair thig am Francach a steach
Le treun champ a chuid each,
Bidh a bhangaid 's a bhreacfeast gréité dha.

22

Tha 'n cogadh so searbh
Air a thogail gu garg,
'S mar cheann nathrach bidh earbul [illegible] air.

ORAN LE GREASAICH DO INGHINN [illegible]

1

O gar mise tha fo bhròn [illegible],
S mi bhi 'n còmhnuidh [illegible] [illegible],
Mi fo thùirs a Luan [illegible]
Ga bheil [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], ([illegible])
Ach 's e sud a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible],
Moighdinn òg an [illegible] [illegible],
A dhith nach [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible],
Dh' fhàg e mi fo [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

2

Fhir a shiubhlas air an uair uam,
Beir an soiridh uam gu Anna,
Ris na dhealaich mi ann uaigneas
Air a' chraig ud shuas an ain-fhios.
Chuir mi 'n cèill dhuit féin ma Bhealtuinn
Mi bhith 'n gealltainn air do ghabhail:
Is labhair Anna le beul ciùin rium
Nach b' e 'n Sutor a ceud leannan.

3

Naora bhuinnig a chroidhe ghaolaich,
A naora taobh rium féin a chailleag!
O cheann tamal tha mi 'n déigh ort;
'S i 'n t-slat fhìneand mhaiseach phriseil
Dh' fhàs gu dìreach 'mar an callan: (gallan)
Bu mhòr a b' iunse leam bhi sìnt riut,
No na thog mi chìs a 's t-earrach.

4

Ge d' nach tailfhear a ni clò mi
Dheanainn bròġan dhuit gun ghainne,
Ghleighinn dhuit min-chorc is eòrn',
Càis is feòil 's gach nì ni math dhuit;
Dheanainn fead is cnag is ceòl duit,
Bheirinn pògan do d' bheul cannach,
Dheanainn mire riut gun dò-bheirt
Is ni eile nach còir a' mhearraig. (labhairt)

5

Ub, ub, ub, beir uam do sgeul,
Cha 'n 'eil rèasan air do theangaidh,
Ge d' nach faighinn fear no cheilidh
Leat cha rachain féin a mearachd;
Ga bu leamsa nì 's a dh' fhèadail,
Na tha eidir Maoille 's Mor-mhealla,
B' iunse leam Seamas Dèbhi
As a léine no dhol mar riut.

6

Ma phòsas tu Seamas Débhi,
Ge d' tha fèadail aig air ghleannaibh;
Ma tharlas ort do phiuthair chéile,
S teann gu'n reub i dhiot an t-annrad.
Is misè tha trom brùite
As nach dean mo rùin mo ghabhail,
'S eudar dhomh bhi falbh m' ùgaidh,
A chaoidh cha tog mi sùil a s talamh.

7

Ciod an donas tha cur gruaim ort?
An ann a gruagach tha do charraid?
Is a liughad moighdinn òg tha 's dùthaich
Tha gun phòsadh, gun aon fharraid,
Ma tha té ann ni do dhiultadh
Gu bheil triùir ann ni do ghabhail:
Tog do mhisneach is bi sùnntach,
Na gabh cùram a bhi falamh.

8

Ainnir òg an òr-fhuilt anualaich,
Dh' fhàs gu lubach cuachach cannach,
Air nàile raçhain leat an uaigneas
Do na gleannaibh fuar re geal-shian;
Dheanainn do leabaidh 'san luachar
Is bheirinn pògan uat le furan,
Dheanainn mire riut gun duasaid
Ge do bhuaileadh iad mi bhuillin.

9

Ga bheil fleasgach ann as tìr so
Ris am bheil mi féin ann ain-iochd,
Nuair nach d'innis e mar sgeul domh
Gu 'n robh eisinn rè(idh) 's a' chailleag;
Ge bu leamsa ni 's do stòras
'S na dh òr ann Eanacalla, (Earracalla)
Na tha dh' fhearann eidir Cluainidh
Is Ridhigh na Bruaich ann Gleanna-garau,
Bu mhòr a b' iunsa cùis na gruagaich
Ann an gleannan fuar re geal-shian.

10

Ach 's ann ormsa dhorch an oidhche,
Dh' fhailnich a chaoidh 's am feasd mi,
A dhìth 's nach dean mo leannan m' fhoighneachd;
'S e do ghaol th' air cur as domh;
Slàn le mnathan òg' meorach (mearach)
Slàn le moighdinnin òg' is le fleasgaich,
Slàn le cais-iol, slàn le trainnseir,
Slàn scloiseir, slàn le racstoc.

Crioch.

1

* Eoghain mhic Iain mhic Ailein
Dhomhsa b' aithne beus do bhaile;
Piob ga spreigeadh, long ga tarruing,
Bhi 'g òl fion, à piosaibh glaine.
O i oirinn, O i o u, O i oirinn, O i o ro,
O i oirinn, O i o u, Thog u oirinn, O i o ro.

2

O gur e mo rùin 's mo roghainn,
Is buighe chùl 's is gìle 'aghaidh;
Cha bhuachaille bhà na ghabhar,
Ach sealgair féigh thu 'sa choir oghar.

3

Ach tha fiar ann san t-sròn oghar,
'S an t-sròn chuileann thall mu comhair
Far am bi meann aig gach gabhair,
Laoghan aig a ghamhain deòlaidh
Agus uanan aig an òisge,
Measair chairt mar chuman bleoghain.

4

Ach tha aguinn an Dunèideann
Ceannard na comhairle 's na cèille,
Thig e dhathigh 's ni e rèite
'S biaidh fir Bhaideanach nan slèibh dhuinn.

* [Evidently a Lochaber poem.—Ed.]

5

'S gàbhaidh leam t-aigne, fhir Chluainidh,
Ged' tha saibhlean agad 's cruachan,
Dag a' chinn òir air do chruachain,
Ge sinn féin is pailte uaislin.

6

Ach, a Mhuire, scrios gu 'm faic mi
Air luchd na mogana glasa,
Ged' tha 'n taois air tighinn tharpa
Shaoil iad gu 'm iad féin bu tapaidh.

7

Sud a' bhuaidh nach d' fhuaras aca
S na(ch) fhaigh am blia'na na's pailte;
Nar thig oirne na fir gheala
A Muideart 's a Gleanna-gara,

8

Fàgaidh iad Clann a' Mhuirich nan cabhaig
'S cha 'n fhàg iad feusag air fear dhiubh.
Na dh' fhalbh uainne air an turus,
Do dheoin Dia gu 'n tig iad uile:

9

Cha bhuin gàbha riu no cunntart
Biaidh fuil phailt air Cloinn a' Mhuirich.
Dh' eireadh sud dà thaobh Ghleinn-ruaidh leat
Luchd nan leadan troma dualach,

10

Nach biodh scathach re h-àm cruadail:
Cha b' e 'n sùgradh dhol ga 'm bualadh!
La dhomh 'sa choille ghrianaich
An tigh Iain Oig Mhic Iobhair,

11

Grùdair m' athair is mo mhathar,
Is mithich dhomh éirigh is paighidh
Gun mi dh' fhulang focal tàire,
Air son 's buille chùl na làimhe.

ORAN LE MNAOI D'A LEANNAN.

1

Ge do tha mi am thàmh
Cha 'n 'eil mi dhe slàn,
Tha mulad is pràmh le chéile orm
Ge do tha, &c.

2

Mu 'n òganach shuairc
Dh' fhalbh 'sa mhaduin Dia-luan,
Righ gur fada leom uam mo cheud ghràdh,
Mu 'n oganach, &c.

3

Cas a dhìreadh nan carn
'S a thearnadh nan àlt,
Leat a leagtadh damh dearg na cèire.

4

Cas a dhìreadh nan stùc
'S a thearnadh nan glùn,
Leagadh fuil air an drùchd mu 'n éirghinn

5

'N àm suidhe mu d' bhòrd
Gheibhte sud air an òg,
Fior roghadh gach neòil ag éirghidh

6

Gheibhte ruaidhe a' d' ghruaidh
Mar an caorann 'g a bhuain,
No mar ubhal air uachdar géige.

7

Tha do chùl mar an t-òr,
Tha do chneas mar shneachd òg,
Fhir d' a maith d' an tig còt' is léine.

8

Gabh mo chomhairl' a ghràidh
'S na dean luidhe le tràill
Tàgh an roghainn a's feàrr am dhéigh-sa

9

Tagh an nionag ghlan òg
Ga 'm bi buaile mhaith bhò,
Agus cairdin na leòir da réir sud.

10

Ge d' robh buidhe 'na cùl
Agus geile (gile) 'na guùis,
Ghaoil, fiosraich gu dlùth a beusan

11

Na gabh fàth uirr' gun fhios (oirre)
An cùl gàraidh no pris,
Mu'n dean uirr' an criosan éiridh.

12

Cha chreidinn gu bràth
No gu latha mo bhàis,
Gu'n gabhadh tu, ghràidh, droch sgeul orm.

13

Le mheud 's a fhuair mi do d' phòig
Ann an gleannan an fheòir,
Dh' fhàg sud mise re m' bheò fòi éislein.

AIR SIR DUGHALL ACH-NAM-BREAC, MARBHRANN.

'S uaigneach a nochd Cathair Dhughaill,
Chuaidh dùnadh re ceòl 's re h-aighir,
Am Bruth sith amluidh ghoruigh
Gun Sailm (Sheirm), gun choisir, gun tathaich.

Gun chlarsaich dhonn do 'n fhiogh chubhraidh,
Gun sheanchuidh gun fhilidh leabhair,
Gun fhear-dàn ann sa Bhruth oirdheirc,
Gun mhnai bhin-gheal, gun léigh cabhair. (cheol)

A Dhughaill òig mhic Dhonchaidh chliùitich,
'S i do chùis bu mhòr r'a h-iomradh;
Basraich bhan fo gharaich leanabh,
'S truadh am bannall ud mu d' thimchioll

Ach 's beag leom sud a dheanamh d' sheanchas
Sagsonach thu, Francach, Spainneach,
Lochlannach thu, Breatannach binneach
Ann-fhuil a's mirre ghin o Adhamh.

[The last verse is on the same page as the above song, but does not likely refer to the same subject.—ED.]

DO DHUIN' UASAL DO RODHACHAIBH.

'S mi 'g uileag mo leaba
'N deigh dusgadh a cadal
'S ann a dh' uinndrain mi caidridh an t-sheoid uam.

Do dh' fhear foinidh deas direach
Do dheagh shlainne nam Biatach,
Cha bu chladhaire crion a's tigh-òsd thu.

Cha bu chladhaire gealtach
Air thùs thagha na feachd thu,
Fhuair thu t-fhoglam air ghaisgeachd a's t-òige.

Ach a shealgair na lachain,
A' choillich 's a' ghlas-gheoidh (thorchuill)
Leat bu mhianach sud agad dic (pic) chorachuill.

Slat do bheatha na credhe
Dhe 'n iuidh fhallain nach leimeadh,
Chite faileus la grèine do dhorlach.

Beith crainn ur air a slisneadh
Mu 'n fhiudh nach brisneach,
'S doss na h-iolaire brice ga sheoladh.

Ceir dhait o na ghailleabhin
Chuiregh dreach air na h-armaibh
Pic chaiteineach dhearg is deagh cholg uirr'

Nar a rachadh tu t-èididh
Ann am breacan caol geugach
Bu tu leannan bhan breid-gheala boigheach.

Sgeul is ait leis na h-aighin
Ann an tìd na Feill-Ian
Nach bi thu ga 'n caitheadh air mhointich

Sgeul is ait le fiagh du-ghlas
Bhios re shiubhal nan stùc-bheann
Nach bi thu le d' chùth air a lorgsan

Ach a nois o na sguir thu
'S gu'n do libhrig thu 'n guna
Cha dhìrich thu mulach na mor-bheann

O na chaisg iad am fiagh dhiot
Le arsmachd (ardan) an Iarla, (oglaċh)
Cha luidh manntal no sliasaid air h-Fholadh.

Cara Chainnich a Brathain
Is Mhic Aoidh o Shrathnauir
'S a Mhic Shimidh o amhan nan crodh thu

Tha thu Charabh Shiol Aillein
'S a thiagharn og Ghlinneagaradh,
Mac Dho'll-duibh 's a Mhac Cailein 's Mhac Dhomhnuill

Tha thu Charabh nam Barrach
Da 'm bu duchas bhi 'm Farrais,
Chuireagh trup nan each meara gu òrdugh.

Tha thu Charabh nan Granntach
Eidir Spè 's uisge Shamhnadh,
Mhac Ill-Eoin nan lann-chreachamh do

Tha do dheud air dhreach cailce
'S tha do ghruadhan air lasadh,
Tha falt dubh ort 's cha 'n fhacas ni 's boiché.

Ach a' chroidhe na fèille
Slan thighinn deagh sgeul ort,
Gur tu m' aighir is m' eadail 's mo storas.

RANN A RINNEADH AIR OI'CHE BAINSE.

Brave lads be merry *le furan 's le gradh,*
Most willing *a taim le mireadh gu leòr ;*
As I am a sinner I cannot *bith 'm thàmh,*
While *tha 'n cupan am laimh cuir uille san stòp.*

Come, call the lass, fill the glass,
Cuir mu'n seach cumant e ;
Here's a health *do gach neach,*
Gad' bhiodh sheachd urrad ann,
To the new couple that's buckled *an trasa,*
Bragad air bhragad re furan nam pòg.

The wheel of Fortune goes often *mu'n cuairt,*
Cha 'n oil leam san uair a' mhalairt a th' ann ;
I like it. I take it, I make it a *suaip,*
Gach mulad 's gach gruaim a thachair reum ann.

I am glad on my bed, *fhuair mi cead feadalaich,*
Leam nach meisd, I protest, *ged' raith treis bheadrai' ann*
Aig deadh mhac an duine 's a' chailin gun ghruaim,
Gu deimhin bu dual gu'n cinneadh bhur clann.

The Boy called Cupid *le bhogha 's le chuibher,*
Tha mi san dùil nach raibh shuilean-san dall ;
He charged so briskly and aimed so quickly,
Gu'n chuir e le clisce gu itibh an crann.

[Another stanza follows, which need not be given.—ED.]

24th FEBRUARY, 1898.

At the meeting this evening Rev. John Fraser, F.C. Manse, Dores, was elected an ordinary member of the Society. Thereafter a paper by Rev. C. M. Robertson entitled, "Topography and Traditions of Eigg," was read. The paper was as follows :—

TOPOGRAPHY AND TRADITIONS OF EIGG.

The earliest references to the Island of Eigg occur in connection with the name of St Donnan, to whom its church was dedicated. What is known of this saint has been brought together in a note by Dr Reeves in his edition of Adamnan. Donnan of Eigg is one of three Irish saints bearing that name. His commemoration in the "Feilire" of Ængus the Culdee, and the accompanying commentary, give nearly all that is known of him:

> "With the festival of Peter the Deacon
> To glorious martyrdom ascended,
> With his clerics, of pure lives,
> Donnan of cold Eig."

"Donnan of Eig, i.e., Eig is the name of an island which is in Alba, and in it Donnan is [commemorated]; or, in Catt; 'et ibi Donnan sanctus cum sua familia obiit, id est LII.' [and there died holy Donnan with his community of fifty-two].

"This Donnan went to Columcille to make him his soul's friend, upon which Columcille said to him, 'I shall not be soul's friend to a company (heirs) of red martyrdom; for thou shalt come to red martyrdom, and thy people with thee.' And so it was fulfilled.

"Donnan then went with his people to the Hebrides, and they took up their abode there in a place where the sheep of the queen of the country were kept. This was told to the queen. 'Let them all be killed,' said she. 'That would not be a religious act,' said her people. But they were murderously assailed. At this time the cleric was at mass. 'Let us have respite till mass is ended,' said Donnan. 'Thou shalt have it,' said they. And when it was over, they were slain every one of them."

The massacre is ascribed to pirates or sea-robbers in the Calendar of Marian Gorman, and in a quotation in the Acta Sanctorum. The passage in the latter work says that the queen induced certain sea-robbers to slay Donnan. Perhaps her own people's unwillingness to commit the act had proved insuperable. The latter account further relates that when the robbers came they found the monks singing psalms in the Oratory, and were powerless to hurt them there. But Donnan said to his disciples, Let us go to the Refectory where we were wont to live after the flesh, and there we can be slain, for we cannot die so long as we remain where we were in the habit of pleasing God, but where we

have been accustomed to nourish the flesh, there we may be loosed from the flesh. And so on Easter night in the Refectory or dining-hall of the monastery they were slain.

It is a mistake, however, as Dr Reeves shows, to say that the saint met his death at Easter. The date of his martyrdom was Sunday, the 17th of April, in the year 617. In that year Easter fell on the 3rd of April.

The island was soon re-occupied as a religious abode. The Annals of Ulster record the death of Oan, superior of Eigg, in the year 724. The names and the days of other saints associated with the island are recorded in the Irish Calendars, but the years are omitted.

The walls of the now roofless chapel of Kildonan are still intact, with the exception of the eastern gable. According to tradition, the chapel was burned twice by the Norse rovers. It is now the burial-place of the Roman Catholic inhabitants, whose remains are carried sunwise round the outside ere being laid in their last resting-place.

Buried under ground some 60 or 80 yards north of the chapel is a hollow stone, containing human bones, and covered with a thin slab of redstone. The hollow stone is popularly believed to have been the burial-place of St Donnan. It has been described by Martin and subsequent writers. Professor Macpherson gives a full and exact account of it in his "Notes on Antiquities from the Island of Eigg"—(Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. XII., p. 577 et seq.). He brings forward evidence that this basin, which is made of whitish sandstone, and also another which was made of the Scuirr stone, and contained many more bones, were dug up some time not long after the year 1818, and, being removed to the edge of the field, lay exposed there for many months. "In these circumstances," he adds, "it can hardly be considered as certain that the place where we now found it was the place of its original deposit." His reason for making that remark is, that in digging round the stone they found some charcoal, a few small shells, and sea-rolled pebbles. He has, however, overlooked the statement in the Old Statistical Account (published 1796), that the stone having been exposed by the plough some years previously, was taken up and examined, and then buried at a distance of a few yards from the place where it had formerly lain.

The indications are that the bones are simply such as had been turned up, and deposited in this hollow stone as a convenient receptacle when graves were being dug. Even at the time of Martin's visit no skull was found. About fifty years ago the

covering slab was so exposed that it could be raised and the cavity underneath exposed to view, but the desecration, it was believed, was always followed by foul weather.

The islands of "Iuist and Egyn" (Uist and Eigg) are mentioned in "A Letter of the King of Norway," among the documents found in the King's treasury at Edinburgh in 1282. The islands of "Egge and Rume" were among the lands erected in 1292 into the sheriffdom of Skye. In 1309 certain lands, including "Egis and Rum," which had been resigned by Christian of Marr, the daughter of the deceased Alan, the son of Roderic, were granted by King Robert Bruce to Roderic, the son of Alan, for service of a ship of twenty-six oars, with its complement of men and victual. Eigg remained intermittently in the possession of the Clanranald family from that time down to the present century. Owing to its convenient situation in relation to both the island and the mainland possessions of the family, and to its advantages of navigation and harbourage, the island was often used as a rallying place for the clan, both for peaceful and for warlike purposes. It was here that Ranald, the eldest son of John of the Isles, handed over the chiefship to Donald, the eldest son of his father by his second wife, Margaret Stuart, daughter of Robert II. The Red Book of Clanranald gives this account of the ceremony observed: "Do bhi Raghnall mac Eoin na ard stiubhord ar Innsibhgall an aimsir bas athair do beith na aois arsuigh agus ag riaghladh os a cionn do ar neg do athair do chur tionol ar uaislibh Innsibhgall agus ar bhraithribh go haoinionadh agus tug se slat an tighearnais do bhrathair a ccil Donnin an Eige agus do goireadh mac Domhnuil de agus a Hile an aghuidh baramhla fhear Innsigall":—"Ranald, the son of John, was the high steward of Innsigall (i.e., the Isles) at the time of his father's death. He being in his old age and ruling over them when his father died, called a meeting of the gentlemen of the Isles and of his brothers to one place, and gave the wand of lordship to his brother at Kildonan in Eigg, and he was proclaimed MacDonald, and of Islay, contrary to the opinion of the men of the Isles." A translation of the passage is given by Sir Walter Scott in the notes to the "Lord of the Isles."

Of a different character was the meeting of Sir James Macdonald, after his escape from Edinburgh Castle, with Coll Mac Gillespick before their invasion of Islay and Cantyre in 1615. This is Gregory's account:—"At the Isle of Eigg he met with Coll Mac Gillespick and such of the Clandonald as followed that pirate leader. The reception given to Sir James by his clansman was very enthusiastic. He and those who had come with him

stood in a place by themselves, whilst Coll Mac Gillespick's men marched round them firing volleys of small arms for half an hour; and afterwards every individual came forward and shook hands with the chief. From Eigg, being now about three hundred strong, Sir James and his followers sailed in the direction of Islay, having previously slaughtered a great number of cattle in the former island to insure themselves a good supply of provisions."

At the present day Eigg is best known, perhaps, in connection with the smothering of its inhabitants in Uamh Fhraing by the hostile Macleods. The name Uamh Fhraing is usually rendered as in the Old Statistical Account, the Cave of Francis. Phonetically that rendering is quite satisfactory, though it is not the only one possible. The second term of the name is pronounced in Gaelic exactly like the latter part of the famous name Quirang, in Skye, and, so far as sound goes, it may very well be the genitive of 'reang,' a form of 'rong,' which means a boat-rib, etc. This would in effect make Uamh Fhraing, or in this case Uamh Reing, mean the "Ribbed Cave."

The story of the cave has often been told. The precursor of the many versions current was that given in the Old Statistical Account, and to it we may confine ourselves here. "At no great distance," it proceeds, "east of this cave [Uamh a Chrabhaidh] is Uamha Fhrainc (the Cave of Francis), remarkable not only for its form, but also for the murder of the inhabitants of this island by Alistair Crotach, Laird of M'Leod. The entrance of this cave is so small that a person must creep on four for about 12 feet; it then becomes pretty capacious, its length being 213 feet, breadth 22, and height 17. With regard to the murder above mentioned, it is said that some of M'Leod's vassals, returning from Glasgow, touched at the harbour of Eigg. Some Eigg women were then tending cattle in Eillean Chastell, the small island which forms this harbour. The strangers visited and maltreated the women. Their friends having got information, pursued and destroyed those strangers. This treatment of his vassals M'Leod considered as an insult, and came in force to revenge their death. The inhabitants, apprised of their danger, flocked to this cave for concealment, excepting 3 who took other places of refuge, and a boat's crew then in Glasgow. M'Leod after landing having found no inhabitants, believed they had fled to the mainland, and resolved to return immediately to Sky. The people in the cave, impatient of their confinement, sent a scout to reconnoitre, who imprudently shewed himself upon an eminence, when he was readily observed by the enemy then actually under sail for Sky. Unfortunately for the inhabitants, there was new

laid snow upon the ground. M'Leod re-landed and traced the scout to the cave's mouth. He offered upon delivering up to him the murderers of his people to spare the other inhabitants. The terms were rejected, upon which M'Leod smoked them all to death. In the confined air of this cave the bones are still pretty fresh, and some of the skulls entire, and the teeth in their sockets. About 40 skulls have been lately numbered. It is probable a greater number was destroyed; if so their neighbouring friends may have carried them off for burial in consecrated ground."

On that narrative it may be remarked, firstly, that any statement of what Macleod said to the people in the cave must have emanated from the Macleods themselves; secondly, that those within the cave would not be likely to betray their presence nor to confirm the discovery of their retreat by replying to any proposal that Macleod would make; and, lastly, that there is nothing to show that Macleod could be aware of the large number concealed in a cave whose mouth was so narrow. He may not have supposed that there was anyone within except the scout whose footsteps he had traced to the opening.

Professor Macpherson, in his discussion of the story, is staggered by the absence of reference to the event in the judicial records, and by the fact, to which he has drawn attention, that the inhabitants of Eigg suffered total destruction about the same time by the hands of MacLean of Duart. When overrun by MacLean, Eigg and the neighbouring isles appear to have been in the King's hands. MacLean was indicted by the Lord-Advocate for the offence. The record of the trial, at which the accused did not appear to answer to the charge, is printed under date 3rd Jan., 1588-89, in the Register of the Privy Council, vol IV., pp. 341, 342, and states that in October last Lachlan MacLean of Duart, "accompanied with a great number of thieves, broken men, and sorners of Clans, besides the number of one hundred Spaniards [from the 'Florida'], came, bodin in feir of war, to his Majesty's proper isles of Canna, Rum, Eigg and the Isle of Elennole (sic), and, after they had sorned wrecked and spoiled the said whole Isles, they treasonably raised fire and in most barbarous shameful and cruel manner, burnt the same Isles with the whole men women and children being thereinto, not sparing the pupils and infants, and at that same time passed to the Castle of Ardnamurchan, besieged the same, etc. . . . The like barbarous and shameful cruelty has seldom been heard of among Christians in any kingdom or age, the said Lachlan being moved hereunto in respect the inhabitants of the said Isles were his Majesty's proper tenants

destitute of the comfort and assistance of the clannit men of the Isles to participate with them in their own defence."

With regard to the smothering of the inhabitants in Uamh Fhraing by the Macleods, Macpherson says:—"It would be rash at once to reject the generally accepted tradition; but it is difficult to reconcile it with the real evidence as to MacLean of Duart and his Spaniards. It is not easy to believe that twice within a few years the whole population should have been destroyed by fire." Notwithstanding the seeming improbability, the two references found by Macpherson in the Sibbald MSS. in the Advocates' Library would alone seem sufficient to establish the substantial accuracy of the tradition. The oldest reference he found in those MSS. attributes the massacre to "M'Leod of Haris,'" the inhabitants "being in war against him for that tyme." The second reference is in the account of the Hebrides, preserved in Sibbald's own handwriting. Here Macleod is not mentioned, but the date is given and the number of victims is stated. "There are many caves under the earth in the isle which the country people retire to with their goods when invaded, which proved fatal to them in the year 1577, where 395 persons, men, wives and bairns, were smored with putting fire to the caves."

Another early reference to the event is to be found in the "Description of the Isles of Scotland," printed by Skene at the end of his "Celtic Scotland." Of this document Skene says:—"This description must have been written between 1577 and 1595, as the former date is mentioned in connection with the cruel slaughter of the inhabitants of Egg by the Macleods, and John Stewart of Appin, who died in 1595, is mentioned as alive at the time it was written." It will be observed that the description quoted above must have been based upon or condensed from that printed by Skene. The passage is as follows:—"Thair is mony coves under the earth in this Ile quhilk the cuntrie folks uses as strenthis hiding thame and thair geir thairintill; quhairthrow it hapenit that in March, anno 1577, weiris and inmitie betwix the said Clan Renald and Mc Cloyd Herreik, the people with ane callit Angus Johnson Mac Mudzartsone, their capitane, fled to ane of the saidis coves, taking with them thair wives bairnis and geir, quhairof Mc Cloyd Herreik being advertisit landit with ane great armie in the said Ile, and came to the cove and pat fire thairto, and smorit the haill people thairin to the number of 395 persones, men, wyfe, and bairnis."

In ascribing the crime to Alastair Crotach, who is said to have received the injury which procured him the epithet 'crotach' during an incursion into Eigg, tradition is obviously at fault, for

he had ceased to make his presence felt in those Western Isles more than twenty years before this time. In the main, however, the tradition agrees with the old accounts; and for once tradition is vindicated against the critics.

At the census of 1891 the population of the island was 233.

There are no skulls now in the cave; even the floor has been dug for bones to carry away as mementos, and a like fate has befallen some bones of enormous size that used to lie in the window of Kildonan Chapel. One old woman is said to have escaped by hiding herself somewhere about the Scuirr. More definite is the tradition concerning the old woman who refused to accompany the others, and hid herself in a cave in the Aoineadh Mòr, near the north-western point of the island. She was discovered in her retreat, and told that though they would not stain their hands with her blood, they would leave nothing on the island for her to eat, and she would die of starvation. The old body, who was evidently not so terrified as she ought to be in the circumstances, replied: "Ma gheibh mise maorach an t-Sluic, duileasg an Luig, agus a' bhiolaire bhog agus deoch a tobair mhòr Thólain foghnaidh dhomh"—If I get the shell-fish of Sloc, the dulse of Lag, and the tender water-cresses, and a drink from the great well of Tolain, I shall not want.

The phrase "cold Eig," in the "Feilire" of Ængus, associates itself with the word 'fons,' fountain, by which the name Eigg is glossed in two copies of the "Feilire," and also with the opening words of the quotation in the "Acta Sanctorum" already mentioned, viz.: "Ega nomen fontis in Aldafain Cattaibh"—"Eigg is the name of a fountain in Aldafa in (?) Caithness." 'Fountain' is a possible meaning of the name, though not now known in the Gaelic language.

The popular explanation which makes the name of the Island of Eigg, Adamnan's Egea, Gaelic Eilean Eige, to mean Island of the Notch, from Gaelic 'eag,' a notch, genitive 'eige' may be correct. It was put forth over a hundred years ago by the Rev. Donald Maclean, of Small Isles, in the Old Statistical Account, and is identical with the explanation given by our latest and highest authority. There has not been like unanimity as to the reason for calling the island by that name. Some assert that the notch is the indentation which forms Laig Bay on the west side of the island, while others maintain that it is the deep depression which separates the Scuirr hills from the almost equally lofty northern plateau. A better solution of the problem is to be found in the view of the eastern "profile," so to speak, of the island as seen from on board steamer in the Sound

of Sleat. The great indentation formed by the perpendicular face of the Scuirr in the sky-line as seen from that point of view is so striking as to produce the conviction inevitably that that is the notch, if such be the meaning, from which the island has derived its name.

The Rev. Donald Maclean has recorded other names by which the Small Isles were known: Eigg was Eillan nam Banmore, the island of the great women; Rum, Rioghachd na Forraiste Fiadhaich, the kingdom of the wild forest; Canna, An t-Eilean Tarsuinn, the island lying across; Muck, Tir Chrainne, the Sow's Island. "But these," he adds, "may be supposed poetical names given by the Gaelic bards, and the superstitious are said to have used them and them only when at sea and bound for these islands." Regarding Canna, Martin says: "The natives call this isle by the name Tarsin at sea"; and regarding Eigg: "The natives dare not call this Isle by its ordinary name of Egg when they are at sea, but Island Nim-Banmore, i.e., the isle of the big women." The appropriateness of "An t-Eilean Tarsuinn" to Canna, in Gaelic "Eilean Chanfhathaich," is readily seen, while the adaptability of Rum to a deer forest is still recognised. Riòghachd seems a large word; perhaps Rum was a royal forest. "Tir Chràine" is practically synonymous with Eilean nan Muc. The name M'Crain, borne in Jura by a family famed for longevity, one member having kept as many as one hundred and eighty Christmases in his own house, is derived from 'cràin' (cf. M'Culloch). Muck is asserted to have been originally called Eilean nam Manach, Isle of the Monks, which name has every appearance of being a popularised version of a more polite and ingenious interpretation than "Isle of the Swine." Mugstad is well known to mean Monkstead, or Monks' dwelling, and nothing could be more natural to some etymologists than to suppose, out of politeness, that Eilean nam Muc might similarly mean Isle of the Monks, which becomes in modern Gaelic Eilean nam Manach.

There is a burying-ground with remains of ecclesiastical buildings on the island, but the name of the saint to whom they were dedicated has been forgotten. The place is called simply "A Chill." Probably Kilfinan was the full name, as there is Dail Chill Fionain beside the burying-ground. The buildings may not have been founded, as has been alleged, by St Columba, but tradition has it that he visited the island, and was so pleased with the alacrity with which the inhabitants responded to his desire to be ferried to the next stage in his

journey that he pronounced upon them a benediction, in virtue of which neither they nor their descendants to all generations should ever perish by drowning. The prediction, it is maintained, has been fulfilled hitherto, and without much contributory caution on the part of those concerned. It may be questioned if there are anywhere else on the West Coast such daring and successful small-boat sailors as are found in Muck. The same tradition goes on to say that the refusal of the inhabitants of Tiree to perform a similar service for the saint has rendered them, as he predicted, peculiarly liable to this day to death by drowning.

To return to Eigg, the alternative name—Eilean nam Ban mora—associates itself with the tradition that St Donnan was put to death in the island by an Amazon Queen who reigned there, and also with the small loch nearest to the Scuirr, called Loch nam Ban Mora (not Loch na Mna Moire, as in the maps), The Loch contains an island with remains of mason work, and an under-water footway, which seems to be really a ridge of rock. The proximity of that building to the top of the Scuirr suggests that the erection of the former and the fortifications of the latter were the work of the same hands. No more seems to be known about the "Big Women," except that they are said to have been Scandinavians—Lochlannaich.

The intention of the use of those alternative names by the superstitious when at sea and bound for those islands was probably to conceal the destination from witches and other malign powers, which, with the illogic of superstition, were supposed to know the islands only by their true name.

St Columba's name is commemorated in a spring of excellent water in Cleadale, called Tobar Chalum Chille, St Columba's Well, from which the saint is said to have drunk. There are no adders in the island, nor, according to local belief, in any island upon which the saint set foot. Even though taken to Eigg, they will not live there twenty-four hours.

A burial mound, or what is believed to be such, lies a short distance to the east of St Donnan's reputed grave, and another, which was opened several years ago, and some weapons found, lies in front of Kildonan farmhouse. There are two comparatively modern graves, marked each by a huge limb of rough stone, the one below the road on the south of the Scuirr, the other about thirty yards east of the road in the moor north of the Parish Church.

Uamh a Chràbhaidh, described in the Statistical Account, with its altar as used by Roman Catholics, lies to the west of

Uamh Fhraing. A stone erection, said to have been an altar, is found in Straidh, or, more correctly, Strothu, a little to the south of a cairn that stands there. In Cleadale there is a Leaba' Chràbhaidh, so named because monks were wont to worship there. The road to the shore passes through it. The site, too, is easily discoverable of the cross, which has given name to Druim-a'-Chroisein in Cleadale.

There are other caves which have a tradition. One called Uamh-Chloinn-Diridh, near the north end of the island, gave shelter more than once to fugitives from a distance. One fugitive from the Macleod country lived there for some time unknown to any one on the island. The first to discover him was a farmer's daughter, who was at the sheiling at Talm, in the neighbourhood of his retreat, but she was persuaded by him to conceal the discovery even from her father. So much cause had the wanderer to fear discovery by the inhabitants of Eigg, who were the natural enemies of every Macleod. From that day the wanderer's solitude was relieved by occasional meetings with the maiden, and his hardship alleviated by a share of the produce of the dairy. That an attachment should spring up between them was natural, but scarcely did they become conscious of it until Tuathanach nan Cuig Peighinn, as her father was styled, seeing the strange name on some clothes in a washing, and questioning his daughter, discovered the secret, and threatened to shoot the man. Such was the effect of the threat upon her, however, that, instead of shooting him, the farmer brought him home and gave him his protection. The end of it was that the young couple were married, and their descendants are to the fore at the present day.

Another fugitive, who was ancestor of some families still living in the island, and of a man known as Am Pìobair Mòr, found refuge in the same cave, and lived by hunting. He had fled from Rum when the inhabitants of that island were converted to Creidimh a' Bhata Bhuidhe by the proprietor, Maclean of Coll. He left the cave in course of time, and took up his abode in Kildonan, near the spot where the present shepherd's house stands. The site of his stackyard can still be seen, and is named after him, "Iodhlann an t-Sealgaire." The last day he went to hunt in Straidh he failed to come home. Search being made, his body was found with an otter and a badger—biast dubh agus dobhar-chu—the produce of the day's toil, at a well, since called Tobar nan Ceann, at which he had stopped to drink.

Yet one other cave requires particular mention. It lies at the northern extremity of the island, and is one of a range of six caves within flood mark at the base of Sgor Sgaillinn, or, as some say, Sgor Sgailleadh, called in maps Sgurr Sgaileach. Sgàileach would certainly be a most appropriate term, as the rock casts a deep shadow except during an hour or two after sunrise in mid-summer. As regards Sgurr in that and some other local names as they appear in maps, the inhabitants state that there is only one Sguirr in Eigg, all the others so called being Sgòr, usually pronounced Sgor, owing to shifting of the accent. That particular cave contains a stone with a broad flat top that might have been specially designed to serve for a table. The tradition is that it was so used by Mac Mhic Ailein, who was concealed after the '45 with one attendant, named John M'Lellan, otherwise Iain Mac Chaluim, in the cave, hence called Uamh Mhic 'ic Ailein. The Chief had only a stone for a pillow, and, tiring of it, he requested his companion to procure him a turf instead. John would no doubt provide that luxury, but his first response was: "Is e an àilgheas a dh' fhoghainn dhuit! Nach foghainn a chlach do do cheann is gu 'm faod e bhi dhiot mu 'n tig a mhadainn"—"How fond you are of ease! Will the stone not suffice the head that you may lose before morning?"

In the hill above Kildonan there are several chasms of un known depth, one of which is called Sloc a Ghliongain, from the sound made when a stone is dropped into it. Cattle have been lost in them, and there is a legend of a horse that fell into one of them and returned to the light of day in Skye, according to one account, but according to another account in Ardnamurchan, if it were not two horses.

Uncanny beings have lent their names to several places. Cnoc Oillteig, in Cleadale, is said to be named after a hag who haunted the spot. Not far off, and near St Columba's Well, is Tobar Lón nan Gruagach, so named after the gruagach or maiden which frequented fresh-water streams. Loch Nighean Dhughaill, in the Scuirr Hills, received its name from a maiden who perished there. She was herding in the hill one day, and saw a handsome youth—fleasgach briagh—who came and joined her. After some conversation, he laid his head on her lap, and having asked if she would clean his hair—am faisg thu mo cheann dhomh—he went to sleep. While turning over his hair, she noticed some leaves of fresh-water plants, and perceived that her companion was the dreaded water-horse. Keeping her presence of mind, however, she contrived, without rousing him,

to get his head off her lap, and having cut out of her dress with her scissors the piece which was grasped in his hand, she fled with her utmost speed and reached home safely, but not before she heard an angry voice behind her declare that he would have her yet. Not long after, the whole population of Grùlain, as the township which then existed on the south side of the Scuirr was called, were spending the Sunday afternoon, according to custom, chatting together on the top of a hillock, when the water-horse suddenly appeared in their midst, and, seizing Nighean Dhughaill, carried her off before their eyes. The men, with a cry of rage, hastily seized some weapons and started in pursuit. They searched for her everywhere, but never saw her again. A bit of her dress and her lungs—sgamhan—which were seen floating on the surface, made it only too plain that she had met a dreadful end in what has since been called Loch Nighean Dhughaill.

An ominous and mysterious bird which haunts the island is known by the name of Eun Bàn nan Corp—the White Bird of the Corpses. It is only seen in the evening flying near the ground, and occasionally, it is said, resting on houses, and its appearance is regarded as an omen of death. It was seen fluttering, about twenty years ago, near the ground of Cachailiath nam Marbh—the gate of the dead—so named because funeral parties rest there—by a lad who was sent in the middle of the night to Cleadale for a woman to dress the body of a person who had died in Grùlin. More recently it was seen flying around and even striking against a woman, who immediately after met with a violent death. The bird is described as being about the size of a seagull, and is identified, no doubt correctly, as the white or grey owl.

Another omen of like significance is known as "An Wic," the "Weeck," an onomatopoetic name. "Weeck" is believed to be the call of some unknown bird, and is heard sometimes as if coming from the air above, sometimes as if springing from the ground at the very feet of the listener. Never by any chance has anyone caught sight of the bird. The phenomenon has occurred but once within living memory. It continued to startle solitary pedestrians for a few weeks, and was then followed by the death of a clergyman who officiated in the island. An old man living at that time recollected, however, a former occurrence of the phenomenon, which had been followed by the death of several of the inhabitants. The little pass through which the road begins to descend towards Cleadale is called Bealach Clithe, explained to mean Bealach Cleithe, from A Chleith-mhór, as the

ground at the top is named. Cleith probably means a smooth slope, cf. cliath and cliathach, and not level ground, though part of the ground is very nearly level. There can be no connection with the name Cleadale, which means cliff-dale, Norse kleif-dalr, from the Cyclopean wall of rock, close upon 1000 feet in height, with which the place is half encircled. The fact that there is another Bealach Clithe on the east side of the island and in line with the former suggests that the name belonged originally to the whole of the "bealach" or depression already referred to as parting the northern and the southern heights of the island. The steep pass on the west side has the reputation of being haunted, and the lonely wayfarer at night makes all haste to get beyond the dangerous spot. There are veracious accounts of at least one night adventure at the dread spot. A Laig farmer, famed for his strength, had been at the side of the island upon which the inn stood, and on his return home declared that he had encountered the hobgoblin in Bealach Clithe. When coming down the pass below the curve of the road, and almost past the dangerous ground, he came upon a creature of prodigious size and extraordinary shape. Having the true athlete's delight in a robust antagonist, or—

"A foeman worthy of his steel"

—he tried to get a wrestling grip, but he might as well try to embrace a hogshead. He next tried to push it from him, and, having the advantage of the hill, he managed to force it off the road and to tumble it into the burn far below. There it lay still, and he made his way home without further molestation. The farmer was so positive in his assertions, and the story was so circumstantial, that a member of the household, in his round of the farm next morning, made an inspection of the scene. He could find no trace of anything unusual about the road, but, on looking over the bank, he discovered their bull lying dead in the bed of the burn.

The next place to the above in the direction of Cleadale is Cuagach, the "curved" place. The road crosses two small streams, and the place where the first or nearest to Bealach Clithe is crossed is called Cachaileath Cadh-Luideag—Gate or hurdle of the rags' gateway. A green spot above the road on the bank of that little stream was a favourite haunt of a little lady who lived long ago in some place that nobody knows. She wore a green dress, and was always seen by the side of a burn. She was called A' Bhean Nighidh—the washer-woman—because she was always washing clothes as hard as her two little elbows

would go. Nobody seems to know whether she was one of the faries or not, or why she was always washing, or washing at all.

Another story, however, does concern the little folks, unhappily, for it is not altogether to their credit. Beyond Cleadale, on Tólin farm, and immediately below Bealach Thuilm, there is an enclosed field, not now cultivated, called Cuidh-Chapull—the horses' park, cuidh meaning locally an enclosed field. A rock beside the field is called Creag Cu-Chapull. One day when the farmer's people were at the harvest there, one of the women put a child she had to sleep, and laid it down in a warm corner at the side of the field. By and by she heard it crying, and would have gone to it, but the farmer bade her not go near it until he should give her leave. He knew the child that was crying was a changeling left by the fairies, and that if it was allowed to cry long enough those who had left it would take pity upon it and come back for it, and would leave the child they had taken away. It happened just as he thought. When the mother was told that she might now go, she went and found her own child indeed, but the fairies, in their resentment at having to return, had thrown it to the ground and broken its back.

Of Sìtheans or Fairy Knolls there are several. One is in Cleadale, and in Laig there are two on the ridge bordering the beach. The latter are named An Sìthean Mòr and Sìthean na Cailleich—the Great Sìthean and the Hag's Sìthean. In the latter stone implements are said to have been found, the only kind specified being Ceapa-Sìthein, a kidney-shaped stone about nine or ten inches in length (a stone Celt?). Professor Macpherson describes two stone cists found in this knoll.

There are several ancient forts. One in Muck possessed an iron gate within living memory. The fortification of the top of the Scuirr has been referred to. All that was necessary was to erect across the access to the top a few yards of strong masonry, and a part of this is still standing. Other two forts, called Na Dùin, are found close together west of Laig. Portions of the mason work by which the weak points in the natural defences of the situation of one of these were strengthened still remain. The need of such fortresses must have been great in former times, especially in the smaller islands. A limited population like that of Eigg, which mustered, as an old writer tells, only sixty men for the wars, was practically at the mercy of every marauding horde from the larger islands round about, as well as from the mainland. The incursion which resulted in the atrocity of Uaimh Fhraing is one instance. The recollection of that terrible visitation has more or less absorbed or effaced the recollections

of others. An incident will be associated with that incursion by one narrator which is affirmed by another to have occurred during some other invasion. Thus the traditional ploughing of Laig beach, by which one of the richest beaches in shell-fish in the Hebrides was rendered utterly barren, is sometimes connected with that tragedy, and sometimes said to have been done during some other incursion. The deliberate and determined malice of the act, if it was really performed, taken in connection with the interview with the old woman, may well have belonged to those who could seek such vengeance as was consummated in the cave.

As has been indicated already, the island was not overlooked by the Norse marauders. They have left some place-names, some archæological remains, and possibly the boat timbers also which were found in the course of draining operations on Laig farm. There is reason to believe that the part of the farm in which these were found formed at one time a land-locked bay. It is a basin divided from Laig Bay by the low ridge with the fairy knolls mentioned above, and was until drained of a more or less marshy character. On the inland side of it, and about one-third of a mile from the sea, is a dark rock, called Stron Laimhrig—headland of the landing-place. The inference is that there must have been a landing-place near the foot of the rock, and consequently that the sea must have occupied that now inland basin so as to touch such landing-place. A change in the level of the land of 25 feet or 30 feet would fully satisfy the conditions; and that there has been a change of level in the island can be abundantly proved. West of Laig farm-house is a channel traditionally stated to have been a canal, which is perhaps 12 feet above present flood mark. However that may be, there is at the same place a series of raised beaches, the lowest of which is now several feet above high-water mark. There is a similar series of raised beaches also at Talm, at the northern end of the island. Indeed, the indications are that the ground is still rising. The raised beaches of geology may not be so old as is often supposed. Tradition records, and t ere is even living witness, to change of level in other localities. At the south end of Arran, for instance, persons who are by no means old report that the sea does not come in so far on the land now as it used to do. The Norse and other archæological remains are described, and some of them figured, in Professor Macpherson's paper already mentioned.

In the larger Ordnance Survey map of Eigg there are about 125 names of places, of which about one-fifth are of Norse origin.

Four of them contain the Norse word 'dalr,' a dale, viz., Cleadale, Glen Charadale, Galmisdale, and Cnoc Smeordail. Cleadale, written Claytall in 1498, has been explained above. Caradale means copse-dale, from Norse 'kjarr," copsewood or brushwood. Galmisdale, written Galmastal in 1498, suggests the Norse 'galm' or 'galmr,' found only in local names, e.g., Galmar-strönd, probably so called from the roaring of the surf; a comparison with the Anglo-Saxon 'gealm,' din, has been suggested. Smeordail, which means 'butter-dale,' from 'smjör,' butter, must have got its name because good pasture was found there. The name of another dale which does not appear on the maps is retained in Clach Hóasdail, the name of a large stone in Grulin. Hóasdail probably means 'cairn-dale,' from 'haugr,' a burial mound or cairn, cf. Icelandic Haugrnes. The name Hoe, which is found several times in Skye, has been derived from 'haugr,' and there is a 'haugr' or cairn in the neighbourhood of Clach Hóasdail. Nearly all the names of townships are Norse. The first part of Sandavoure is the Norse 'sandr,' sand. There used to be two Sandas, Big Sanda and Little Sanda, or Sandamhor and Sanda-bheag. A document written in 1498 mentions the five pennylands of Sandamore and the four pennylands of Sandabeg. The latter appears in the larger Survey map in the name 'Sandaveag burn,' situated to the north of Sandavoure. Laig, pronounced La'aig, probably means surf-bay (Norse 'lá-vík'), notwithstanding that it was written Layng in 1498. It is a peculiarity of the bay that waves break on the beach both with and without every wind except a breeze of not less than two days' duration from the northeast. The word 'vík' occurs also in the names Sgaothaig and Sgiotaig, in the maps Sgeir Sgaothaig and Camas Sgiotaig. The former, explained by 'skagi,' a low cape, or ness, means 'low cape-bay.' There is also an Eilean Sgaothaig off Muck. Sgiotaig appears in Skye in the name Bornaskitaig, and is explained as 'division-bay,' from 'skipti,' division. Hólin, also called Tólin, may be compared with the Shetland name Hoolin, which means 'at or under the hill'; Norse 'hóll,' a hill, a knoll, though the old form, Houland (1498), suggests rather 'hóll-land,' meaning hill-land. Toaluinn, in Muck, is probably the same. Talm, with Eilean Thuilm and Bealach Thuilm, is the Norse 'hólmr, a holm, a small island, which appears also in Duntulm, in Skye. Halasgair or Thalasgair of Dunan Thalasgair is also Norse, and is to be explained by 'hallr,' a big stone, a boulder, and 'skor,' a rift in a rock or precipice; Gaelic sgòr, English scaur. The place is a very chaos of fallen rocks. The Norse 'sker,' a skerry, an isolated rock in

the sea, appears in the form 'sgeir,' in which it has been borrowed into Gaelic in several names which, apart from that, are pure Gaelic, such as Sgeir Mhor, Dubh Sgeir, Garbh Sgeir. Flod Sgeir, however, is wholly Norse, probably Raft-skerry, from 'floti,' a float, raft, rather than Flat-skerry, from 'flatr,' flat.

There are two instances of the Norse 'nes,' a ness, a point. Eskernish is referred to 'askr,' an ash (tree), a spear, a small ship, but 'öskr,' roaring, bellowing, is a possible derivation. There are Sgeir Eskernish and Maol Eskernish, 'maol' meaning the brow of a hill or rock. Breaca-nis, with Bogha na Brice-nis, in maps Sgeir Breacinnis, is from 'brekka,' a slope, cogn. English brink. 'Brekka' seems to form the latter part of Seathabric, which is not found in the maps. The first part may be 'sef,' a sedge or yellow water-flag. The Norse 'gardr,' an enclosure, yard, etc., cogn. English yard, garden, garth, forms the last part of Slocailigearaidh, as the ravine is called through which Abhainn a Cham Lòin tumbles down towards Laig fields. The first part of the name is, of course, the Gaelic 'sloc,' a ravine or chasm; the second part, 'aili,' is for a form 'ainli' or 'aingli,' ai being nasalized, and may be referred to Norse 'hengill,' an overhanging mountain, a beetling crag. The only feasible explanation of the name Thangaraidh makes the latter part of it the Norse 'gardr,' and the former part Norse 'thang,' kelp, Scotch tang, English tangle. There are Leac Thangaraidh, the flat, tide-washed rock ('leac,' a flat stone) of Thangaraidh, and Bogha Thangaraidh, the bow-shaped rock or skerry of Thangaraidh. Between Straidh and Kildonan there are two small lochs, one of which is called Lochan a' Ghriuth, pronounced 'Ghri'u' (Dhri'u?). There is a Norse word 'gria,' a domicile, home, but whatever it means, the presence of the article (a') goes to show that Ghriuth is a Gaelic word; perhaps from 'ghru," the root of 'grioth," a pebble, and of 'grothlach,' gravel. Not far off is 'Bealach Sgriuthu,' pass or opening of the landslip; Norse 'sgrida,' a landslip. Another name evidently from the Norse is Grulin, pronounced Grùlainn, in 1629 Growlin, of which there are two, viz., Grulin Iochdrach or Lower Grulin, in 1498 Grudling-etrach, and Grulin Uachdrach or Upper Grulin, probably the Grudlingneyuaidleane of 1498; perhaps stoney-land, from 'grjot,' stones. There is a Gruline also in Mull. Near the foot of Sgor an Fhàraidh, on the Survey maps, are the names Laosgonon, and further north Guala Aoinisteir, which may be Norse, but are at present unexplained.

Most of the remaining names are plain and easy Gaelic, but

those that are more obscure may be mentioned. Rudh 'an Aiseid of the maps is pronounced Rudh 'an (Fh)asaidh. Macleod and Dewar give obsolete 'asadh,' anchoring, resting, settling, which comes from 'foss,' the old form of 'fois,' rest. Not far off is Poll Duchaill, written in maps Poll Ducha and Poll an Dubh-achais. Duchaill must be Dubh-choill, black-wood. Near Laig is Bealach Airidh Léir. There is an old word 'lear' which means sea. The place overlooks the depression supposed to have been of old a land-locked bay. Cnocan Druiseach, in Cleadale, is explained as Cnocan Driseach, thorny hillock. Straidh, pronounced Strothu, Bealach Asa Fòirneagan, Cnoc Ghroleamain, Ceann Duilinn, An Tuilead ('ui' nasal) have still to be explained. One name that ought not to be left unnoticed is Rudha na Crannaig, point or promontory of the Crannog. The name is that of a rock on the shore below Kildonan farm-house, and shows that a crannog, or 'lake-dwelling' as they are often called, must have stood here at some time in the edge of the sea.

10th MARCH, 1898.

At the meeting this evening Mr D. Munro, teacher, Dochgarroch, was elected an ordinary member of the Society. Thereafter Mr D. Campbell, editor, "Northern Chronicle," read an exceptionally interesting paper on "The Old Statistical Accounts of Scotland." Mr Campbell's paper was as follows:—

THE EXCHEQUER ROLLS OF SCOTLAND.

General Remarks.

Some time ago I had occasion, in searching for a bit of historical information that I rightly supposed to be contained therein, to overhaul one of the nineteen published volumes of the Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, which are in the Inverness Public Library. I found so much of other interesting information in the said volume that I had a good look over the whole series. I found all the volumes, except the first one, and the indices of two or three of the other ones, uncut, as they came from the binder's hands. This neglect by the reading public is accounted for, mainly if not wholly, by the fact that the Exchequer Rolls and other documents are in mediæval Latin. There are a few short

pieces, however, in early Scotch-English, which, owing to the ever-shifting spelling and obsolete words, are far more difficult to understand than the Latin text. The latter indeed, so far as it was written by the chief clerks of the realm, is very intelligible and ingenious. Feudal and other terms, of which the Romans knew nothin, are phrased with amusing cleverness; and as for the body of the work, its style is above the average level. But in the "Rentalia Domini Regis," or "Rents of the Lord King," the Latin of the no doubt much puzzled clerks of the Commissioners sent forth to "set" or let the King's lands, becomes often ungrammatical, and not infrequently a jargon of confused languages. Besides the "Rentals," the "Libri Responsionum," or Responde Books, contain a record of sasines, and take their name from the responsibility of Sheriffs for the payment of fees, fines, and reliefs by the people who received "enfeoffment."

The first volume begins with 1266. The documents belonging to the reign of Alexander III. are very fragmentary, but valuable. They suffice to show that in settled order, commerce, and general progress, Scotland at the death of the Third Alexander was not behind but rather ahead of England. Truly this state of advancement was astonishing in most things pertaining to what we call civilisation. On Alexander's death the period of long troubles commenced. After Bannockburn, Bruce set himself, with organising skill and energy, to repair the damages of war, rapine, and devastation. He did much in a few years to restore Scotland to its flourishing condition under the last of the Alexanders. The administrative forms were the same as before; but Bruce had to reward his old companions in arms by large portions of what had been of old Crown land—the Swordlands—of both Picts and Scots. The Brucian records are also fragmentary, for what the father won and restored the son nearly lost, and what he left to his successor was a dilapidated Scotland, financially as well as otherwise. David Bruce's only redeeming qualities were personal courage and a jovial disposition. He could keep the future Wolf of Badenoch and his unruly brothers under control and clap them in prison. His successor and nephew, who was older than himself, Robert II., the first of the Stuarts, was unable to rule well his own family, not to say his kingdom. His libertinism in youth was retrieved by warrior courage and conduct. On ascending the throne it was soon discovered that he had exhausted his better qualities, and that his evil habits still clung to him. He was soon glad to devolve the cares of State on his capable second son by his first marriage, Robert, Duke of Albany, and to hide himself in his country and island castles and manors with his "beloved

Maura" or "dearest Mariota de Cardney." He sowed dragon's teeth for his dynasty and for his kingdom by his double families and broods of illegitimates. The Third Robert, his son and successor, was a well meaning man, but an incapable ruler. He was fortunate in having got a good wife, and in being the father of the greatest of the Stuart kings.

The Duke of Albany possessed the ruling gifts which his father and his elder brother lacked. The Rolls, like all the other remaining public documents of the forty years between 1380 and 1420, when he died, bear a good deal of silent testimony in favour of Albany. It is true that Earl Douglas and other nobles, who deserved to be forfeited and executed as traitors, were too strong for Albany, and that he had to compromise with them; and that after Harlaw, too, he could not adequately punish or bring the Lord of the Isles to obedience, although he made a son of his own Earl of Ross, and fortified the Castle of Dingwall. But as far as legal writs ran, the Duke of Albany was a good ruler, and the protector of the poor from the oppression of the proud and powerful. On his death misrule crept in. Duke Murdach of Albany could not rule his own family, far less the Kingdom of Scotland.

The Five Jameses.

So the right heir of the Crown, James the First, was brought home from his long captivity in England, and placed on the throne. James introduced some English forms and principles into Scotch jurisprudence and Scotch administration. No one can justly blame him for his strenuous endeavours to extend the authority of the King and laws to every part of the country. The Albany family deserved punishment, perhaps, but scarcely the exterminating severity with which they were treated. Who would ever think of displacing King James to put the incapable Duke Murdach or his rowdy son Walter on the throne of Scotland? As for the execution and forfeiture of the Earl of Lennox, Duke Murdach's father-in-law, no documents throw light on them, but some Perthshire traditions indicate that during the Albany rule the Earl of Lennox took possession of the Crown lands in Discher and Toyer (Breadalbane), Glenlyon, and Strathtay, and dealt with them as if they had been his own legal possesions. The forfeitures of the Earl of Lennox and the Albany family not only enriched the Crown, repairing the loss of the thanages bestowed by Bruce on companions in arms, but they also enhanced the historical and antiquarian value of the Exchequer Rolls, by detailed accounts of the farms and rents of

farms on the forfeited estates. King James, statesman, poet, and accomplished gentleman, became the victim of a dynastic conspiracy of murderers, at the head of which was his aged uncle, Walter, Earl of Atholl, whom he had never suspected of treasonable designs, on whom he had heaped benefits, and who countenanced, if he had not instigated, the destruction of the Albany family. As a man and as a king, James the First was the best of his race, and one of the very greatest rulers Scotland ever had. He certainly struck hard, on behalf of King and Commons, at the haughty nobles who set themselves above the law, and had his life been spared twenty years longer, they would probably have been all brought under obedience, or disposed of by the executioner. He never suspected Atholl as a rival claimant for the Crown; and what is stranger still, notwithstanding Harlaw, he restored Ross to Alexander of the Isles, and trusted him as a cousin and faithful subject much more than, as later events proved, Alexander should have been trusted.

In the Exchequer Rolls there is far less evidence of trouble and confusion during the minority of James II. than should have been expected. But at a later stage there is abundant evidence of vigorous rule when the young King took the helm in his own hand. The great stain on the second James's shield is that, in a fit of youthful passion, he slew the treacherous, overbearing Earl of Douglas when he went to his Court at Stirling under a letter of safe-conduct. The Earl of Douglas was at the time steeped to the lips in treason to king and country; but "tho' the loon was weel awa', the deed was foully done." This foul deed was the Second James's only dishonourable act. The contemporary historians of this period were almost all foreigners, who paid small attention to Scotch affairs. The few native chroniclers recorded very confusedly only the chief events of this and of the early part of the next reign. The publication of the Exchequer Rolls and other State documents, Scotch and English, correct the errors of Bœce, Pitscottie, and Buchanan, and throw steady light on the obscurest of Stuart reigns. "James with the fiery face" gains immensely by the revelation of his motives and actions which these documents supply. He was every inch a king, and if not quite such a model in private life as his father, nor such a far-seeing statesman, he was not a whit less vigorous in asserting the authority of the law, and in striking at leagued treason, the existence of which he had plenty of reason to be convinced of, although the full proofs were not brought to light until centuries after his premature death. In Mary of Gueldres he had a splendid wife. It is rather a singular fact that the Stuarts were

generally fortunate in marrying noble women, although the first was the only one of the five successive Jameses, without a break, who was a most faithful husband.

The next reign was an unhappy one. It began well under the guidance of the widowed Queen and Bishop Kennedy. They both died too soon for Scotland and its boy-king. Perhaps James the Third would have been a good king of his kind in a settled, highly-civilised country. He was devoted to architecture, music, and the fine arts. He kept the haughty nobility at a distance, and surrounded himself with favourites, or persons skilled in the arts to which he was devoted. There is, strange to say, not a single mention of Cochrane, the master mason or architect, who was hanged with others—but not with the tailor, who lived long afterwards—over Lauder Bridge. There is no proof whatever in the Rolls that Cochrane was ever actually invested in the Earldom of Mar. If he was the architect of the splendid buildings of this reign, the King might well be excused for preferring his company to that of the rude, blustering nobles who could not write their names. He could not, however, be excused for neglecting his duties as a king. The mailed fist was needed for the government of Scotland, and James only wore velvet gloves. The Rolls show changes in regard to the letting of Crown lands, which leave no doubt as to the prevalence of both favouritism and neglect. But the accounts of revenue and expenditure were duly kept in regular form, and a good deal of what was taking place in the political state of the country, and what was going on at Court, can be gathered from their contents. It may be noticed that from the beginning, down as far as the published series extends, all the accounts are kept in Roman numerals. It was a terribly clumsy system. Old Scotchmen were evidently good mental arithmeticians, but their Roman numeral system compelled them to stop short of decimal fractions. They did not go further than a fourth, a half, and a third, say, of a penny or other small coin. James the Third perished ignobly. His excellent Queen, Margaret of Denmark, who brought as her tocher, or rather as the pledges for her tocher, the Orkney and Shetland Islands to Scotland, died before him. Had she lived, perhaps, the conspiracy would never have come to a head. At least her influence should have sufficed to save her son from revolting against his father.

James IV. was a sad libertine, and withal a splendid king. Under him grants to mistresses and appointments to illegitimate children became again as rank as they were in the time of the first of the Stuart kings. As a king, however, he was popular as well as masterful. He was also an accomplished knight, scholar,

and linguist. He is certified to have spoken Gaelic, as well as Latin, French, and English. He had much to do with the settling of the Highlands and Islands, after the final suppression of the Lord of the Isles, who, by the way, was not sixty years of age when he died in the monastery of Paisley after all his varied career. James, when he had no other more useful adventure by sea and land in hand, made a pilgrimage either to Tain or some other shrine. He was always moving about, and resumed the habit of the early kings in taking a personal part at the Justiciary Courts. Justice was administered impartially under the watchful eyes of a king who, although no saint, was essentially a just and upright man. He was temperate in a very intemperate age in the matter of drink, but was, at the same time, a splendid host and a charming guest when sojourning in the castles of his nobles. Altogether, he must be placed next, as a ruler, to the First James, and, of the two, he was by far the more popular. His marriage with Margaret Tudor ultimately led to the union of Scotland and England, and yet the matrimonial connection and his common sense did not prevent him from rushing into an unreasonable war with England, conducting that war foolinshly, and meeting his fate at Flodden. As a statesman he was infinitely inferior to his great ancestor, yet his final folly notwithstanding, he did much for Scotland, and well deserved popularity in life and mourning in death.

His son's reign began in shadows and ended in shadows. Upon the whole, it is as gloomy as the reign of the Third James. But "the King of the Commons," while much inferior to his father, was not a feeble ruler like his grandfather. The tyranny of the Douglases probably warped his natural disposition. At anyrate, while he got on well with the Commons, and made himself a hero of ballad and legend stories, he showed suspicion and vindictiveness towards the nobility, and, under bad guidance, misunderstood the signs of the time in respect to ecclesiastical and political affairs. His sensual excesses are supposed to have clouded his mind and shortened his days. He lived, indeed, but what seemed to be half his span. Not one of the five Jameses died what could be called a natural death.

How Kings and People Fared.

The Kings of Scotland had never any great command of money, but they did not lack the means of maintaining royal pomp of State, when it suited them, and from having generously hospitable homes. They had manors, lands, and forests of their own in all parts of the country; and so, by moving about with

their Court attendants, they could enjoy many changes of domicile, and consume the rent in kind, wheat, barley, oats, marts, mutton, poultry, pigs, herrings, salmon, etc., where they were payable, along with money rents, and use the other services of tenants. As they began to be more stationary in their habits, and took to staying, except in the hunting season, chiefly in Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Stirling, Perth, and Falkland, the rents in kind of distant possessions were commuted for money, but the old distinction between money and produce was still retained down to a very late period. The household accounts show that our kings and their courtiers lived generously, and even luxuriously. They had, as far back as the records go, French, Spanish, Rhenish, and even Greek wines. They were fond of spices of all kinds. Pepper is often the quit rent of blench holdings. Honey and sugar they had in abundance. They consumed great quantities of home-brewn ale, and had beer imported from Germany and the Netherlands. I have not noticed in the first sixteen volumes a single mention of whisky or "aqua vitæ.' But that is not at all strange, as, until last century, whisky was not generally used as a drink at all. It was, however, used as medicine more than a thousand years ago. According to the ancient poems of Wales, there were distillers in Galloway in the days of the Romans and King Arthur, and the monks afterwards continued to distil what they called "strong waters." Ale was made both from barley and from oats—the former being much preferred, but the latter being not despised. A middle class of ale was brewed from mixing barley malt and oat malt together. Honey and wax were apparently plentiful. Wax was in great request for church, palace, and castle lights. Honey was used for a hundred purposes of cooking and brewing, besides being eaten from the comb or from the jar into which it had been melted, along with bread and meat. Grapes and raisins, like spices, were imported. The home orchards produced apples, pears, and plums. The Scotch Kings of the later era had good gardens at Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Falkland, Perth, Stirling, etc. We may conclude that their predecessors had gardens also, which, if not so good, were still more numerous, because they roved more about to eat the produce of their possessions where it was grown. The accounts of cooks or clerks of the kitchen, in the time of the five Jameses, record a huge consumption of salad herbs and of endives, leeks, and onions. Kale of all kinds was largely grown and used all the year round. America had still to be discovered, and it was not till a century after the discovery of America that Sir Walter Raleigh introduced that prince of vegetables, the potato. What

were the substitutes that did duty for the potato in the olden times? Parsnips and cabbages chiefly, which were both pitted at the beginning of winter, and so kept good till new ones grew. I have not come across any mention of turnips. The parsnip was not a garden but a field crop. Its Gaelic name is "curran," and it has affixed its name to many Highland places, like "Tom-a-churrain," "Lub-a-churrain," and so forth. Of course the clerks of the kitchen took no notice in their accounts of the smaller fruits and vegetables which were mere garnishings, and grew in all the king's gardens. Some of the queens had gardens and gardeners of their own, and we get a hint of flower gardening here and there without anything more. It is different with medicinal plants. A monk near Stirling was paid handsomely for medicinal herbs from his garden, which were given to the horses of the king. Roses were apparently favourite flowers, for red roses are among the quit rents of very ancient charters, along with such other curious reddendoes as falcons, hounds, broad arrows, small arrows, scarlet cloaks, etc. The broad arrows were shot from a catapult sort of machine, and the small arrows by archers.

All ranks of the Scotch people, from the king on the throne o the lowest of his subjects, ate mostly through the winter months of the year salt beef and mutton—including goats' flesh in the second category. The "marts" and sheep and goats were killed at Martinmas, salted in barrels, and afterwards smoked and thoroughly cured for spring and early summer use. Salmon and herrings were treated in almost the same way, and so was the venison, which was not consumed when freshly killed. In the accounts, "birds," that is game birds as distinct from poultry, figure more rarely than might be expected; but that is no doubt because they are only mentioned when bought, which would only happen when the king did not live near his own land. He had many foresters and huntsmen, and Crown tenants reared and trained dogs of the chase for him. Under the Jameses it appears that at Falkland and other places the royal table was supplied by fresh meat in winter—animals being fattened for the purpose, and poultry being, of course, always available. But from Martinmas to well on in summer the salted and smoked stores of butcher meat, fish, and venison had to serve the people in general for the animal part of their food. The Lowlands had pigs in fair abundance—the millers especially—and herds of porkers consumed the beech mast and acorns in the woods of the king and the nobility. Geese and ducks were also numerous in the Lowlands. In the Highlands pigs were seemingly few. The three mills of Balquhidder, instead of pigs, had to give annually to the king eight

well-fed calves. The Scotch people needed much the aid of anti-scorbutic vegetables to modify the heating effect of their winter diet—salt meat and oatmeal. But they had always plenty of milk. They milked goats and sheep as well as cows. They made great quantities of cheese and butter, much of which was exported to foreign lands. The principal exports for many centuries were wool, woolfels of three descriptions,, hides, skins, tanned leather, furs, smoked fish and herrings, and salmon salted down in barrels. Probably the whole population did not amount to seven hundred thousand. They had, therefore, plenty of elbow-room, and very often "grassings" were "waste," that is without tenants, besides all the wide stretches which were always forests. The accounts of cities and burghs show the trades of the urban population and the ups and downs of the national commerce, which was, indeed, in a more flourishing condition in 1285 than it was at any time during the next three centuries, although it made a wonderful upward start under the rule of the Fourth James; but all that or more was lost in the next two reigns. James the Fourth kept thousands of sheep in his forest of Ettrick, and had herds of horses and cattle in the old royal forests of the southern Highlands, Strongartnay, Glenfinlas, Mamlorne, the greatest and best of them all, Strathbrand, etc. Glen-Urquhart and Glenmoriston had been forests in the previous reigns, with which the Lord of the Isles had "intromittit" at first, and of which, with Urquhart Castle, he subsequently got a lease, and so held them legally until his next rebellion. The amount of wool exported in this king's time proves that there must have been a larger number of sheep in Scotland than has hitherto been supposed. But they were chiefly kept in the Lowlands or places bordering thereupon. The Highlands needed most of the wool grown in them for clothing their own inhabitants. But with hides and cattle they also exported some cloth, yarn, and many furs. Upon the whole, when internal and external peace prevailed, under such a ruler as James the Fourth, who most usefully expended his energy and employed his love of adventure in settling the islands and northern mainland after the final collapse of the power of the Lord of the Isles, the state of the Scottish kingdom was far from unhappy. The people had plenty of elbow-room, and the means of subsistence sufficed for their wants. The tragedy of Flodden for nearly a century stopped and even reversed the current of progress which was in full flow from 1490 till 1512.

The essential features of national and court life revealed by the Exchequer Rolls are, from first to last, astonishingly modern. From the beginning of anything that can be called continuous

record history—say from 1130 to the beginning of the present century—the social and industrial organisations of Scotland remained much the same. But, of course, with the removal of the Court to England a break occurred at the social apex, and the Reformation made a thorough change in the form and guiding principles of the national religion. James V., who was a libertine like his father, threatened bishops, priests, abbots, and monks with pains and penalties if they did not amend their lives, but he never went beyond threats. His great-great-grandfather, James I., would have made a better reformer had his life not been cut short. He was painfully aware of the ecclesiastical scandals—which afterwards became worse—and not only had the mind of a reformer, but the pure and noble personal character which gave him a right to reform a demoralised Church, and made him an example to its clergy, some of whom were as anxious for the repression of abuses as he was himself. Harpers, bards, jesters or fools, yea, and companies of seemingly regular playactors, appear in the household accounts back as far as they go. But one is somewhat surprised to learn that King David Bruce had pipers. He was not content, like the Queen, with one piper. So there were pipers in Scotland two centuries before the battle of Pinkie, the date usually assigned to the first historically recorded appearance of the piper on the battlefield, and who knows how long they might have been in popular use before David Bruce had his pipers? As to the early use of the word "Clachan" for the Church-place both in Highlands and Lowlands, the Rolls put an end to controversy. The word was in use from immemorial times, instead of having been introduced, as some contended, about the period of the Reformation. "Clachan," or the stone circles, were the churches of the Druids, and the first Christian missionaries established their places of worship at or near them, partly, perhaps, as a sign that the heathen religion was superseded by a better one, and partly, we may be sure, because they could not find more convenient places than those at which the people had been accustomed to assemble for many generations.

Valuation Roll Information.

The Exchequer Rolls are rich quarries for genealogists and those who search after place-names. It so happens that the assedations, that is to say, the settings or lettings of the King's land on leases, give in many instances detailed, or what may be called Valuation Roll, accounts of the people, places, rents, and services. Forfeitures and wardships brought, at different times, wide domains which were not Crown lands under the survey of

chamberlains, sheriffs, and bailies. In the Highlands, the forfeiture and execution of Duncan, Earl of Lennox, placed under such a survey, in the reign of James I., the county of Lennox, which extended beyond the bounds of the present Dumbartonshire. The Earldoms of Strathearn and Monteith fell, for other reasons, into the possession of the Crown. Discher and Toyer, or the north and south sides of Loch Tay, with Glendochart and Glenlochay, were, like the Lordship of Doune, Glenlyon, Rannoch, and Apnadall, original Crown lands, which, after having been partly granted away and partly taken away, without a legal title, by Duncan, Earl of Lennox, and his son-in-law, Duke Murdach of Albany, were all recovered by James I., and kept by his successors until most of them were granted on feu-ferme conditions by James IV. to particular owners. Balquhidder was also King's land, and part of the dowry of Queen Margaret Tudor. The word "Breadalbane" is never before 1550 used in the Rolls. Its lands are always described as the Lordships of Discher and Toyer—Deasair agus Tuair, sun side and shade side—and of Glendochart and Glenlochay. Across the heads of Glenlochay, Glenlyon, and Rannoch stretched the Forest of Mamlorne, or old Caledonian Forest, which it seems, however, although it remained a forest always, was never placed under strict forest laws until the reign of James II. We have no detailed account of the Earldom of Atholl, when it was forfeited by Earl Walter's share in the murder of James I. But about 1520 the then boy-earl of the Lorne Stuart descent was a ward of the Crown, and his possessions are summarised, while the dowry lands of his mother, Countess Janet Campbell, are, by way of exception, given in detail. In 1450 a rental of the Earldom of Atholl was given in by Robert, the son of Duncan, then chamberlain or bailie. This is the rough, loyal, fighting Robert of Struan, from whom the Clan Donnachaidh, or Robertsons, took their second surname. Lochaber, the Earldom of Ross, the Lordship of Ardmanach, Cantire, Knapdale, Islay, Mull, and other places, fell under survey after the final collapse of the Lord of the Isles, the death of his son, Angus, and the defeat of Alexander of Lochalsh. Apparently Glen-Urquhart and Glenmoriston had always been King's lands till the Lords of the Isles, who were Earls of Ross, got for some time a partly forcible and a partly legal hold of them. The Earldom of Moray came several times under survey by default of heirs. While the Lovats had good stretches, like Abertarff, of purely Highland lands, their possessions about the Beauly Firth—or Loch Whennor—were somewhat limited, until the Reformation helped them to get hold of the Priory lands and fishings. Beaufort and Kiltarlity be-

longed to the King, and the King's lands there were extended at the end of the sixteenth century, or beginning of the next, by an exchange. Janet Fentone and her husband got the Mains of Kincleven, in Perthshire, in exchange for Bunchrew, Phopachy, and other lands in the Airds. In all the cases we have mentioned, and in others similar to them, there are more or less detailed accounts of holdings, while the summer grazings attached to them go as parts of them without being mentioned, except when there are changes that make specific mention necessary. But they are never forgotten in the rents and entry or renewal duties. The Commissioners of Assedation, who were periodically sent forth to set or let the permanent Crown lands, had clerks that were much inferior in their Latinity to the chief clerks who wrote the charters and the Exchequer Rolls. But if their Latin halted badly, they gave the place names and the names and surnames of the tenants, down to the man who paid a few pence for a hut and allotment, with more phonetic accuracy than their superiors. The assedation reports are very full, and in regard to topography and ethnology, exceedingly interesting. The very best of them are those concerning the King's lands in the Lordship of Doune, Breadalbane, and Strathgartney, that is the Loch Vennacher, Loch Katerine, and Glenfinlas districts. The next best are those concerning the Macdonald forfeited lands in Cantire and Knapdale. King's tenants were, as a rule, better protected from external assaults and raiders than the tenants of the Abbots and Bishops. Turbulent nobles and other leaders of lawless men feared to ravage the King's lands, at least in the more settled districts. But in other respects the King's tenants suffered under disadvantages. They had to give, for instance, more hunting and hosting or military services than other men's tenants. For any sudden emergencies the King's tenants were called out as the army readiest to hand. But as for the hunting services, there were so many royal forests that the pressure of them was only felt occasionally, and when the pressure came it had its compensations. The tenants enjoyed the sport as well as the King and his nobles, and they further enjoyed the venison which was so freely distributed among them. In the places where the King had lands and no forests to visit, the system of letting or setting a whole thanage or barony to a middleman, for a term of years, can be traced back in the records to the usurpation of Edward of England, if not further. Edward let the Scotch Crown lands, as far as he got hold of them, for the rents and duties—valued in money—which were paid to Alexander III. The big tacksman, or middleman, or undertaker could squeeze as much as he liked those who had

previously been kindly tenants of the Scotch Kings, generation after generation, for anything the English usurper cared, since, as a class, the kindly tenants of the Scotch Crown were most inimical to his pretensions. This bad system of middlemen never afterwards wholly came to an end, although it was much modified in favour of the tenants. The more ancient plan was to raise the King's rents by a chamberlain, steward, or bailie, or mair, who was simply an officer of the Crown, and could easily be removed on proof of attempting oppression. Crown tenants, about the forests which the kings were in the habit of frequently visiting, had ready access with their complaints and grievances to their sovereign lord, and, if they made good their case, pity then the officer or middleman who abused his position. In certain cases, however, power was given to middlemen to sublet to other tenants than those who had been on the land before. This happened when the old tenants had been harbouring outlaws or traitors, or had themselves been breaking the laws. James IV. granted out to individuals considerable portions of outlying Crown lands on a feu-ferme tenure, which was a modification of the old feudal system, and by which the revenues of the Crown gained excepting in cases of favouritism.

Anent the Castle of Inverness.

In the seventh century King Brude had a fortified place—which almost certainly was Craig Phatrick—overlooking the River Ness. It needed a miracle on the part of St Columba to burst open its strong gates, and so to get an entrance for himself and the Christian faith within its defences. In the reign of Malcolm Ceann-Mor the old circular or oval strongholds of the Celtic races began to give place to strong and frowning stone and lime castles. If Inverness had not such a castle in Malcolm's time, it had assuredly one of the kind when his son, King David, made it one of the eight justiciary places of Alba, or Scotland north of the Firths of Forth and Clyde. As what Cromwell left of the Abbey of Kinloss testifies to this day, King David's monastic erections were built, so to speak, to last for ever. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that his castles were equally solid. But in 1411, that is to say, about 260 years after King David's death, the Lord of the Isles—Donald of Harlaw—found little or no difficulty in taking possession of Inverness. Through neglect, King David's Castle may by that time have fallen, partially at least, into ruins. In 1412 the Duke of Albany began to build or rebuild the Castle of Dingwall, and Donald of Harlaw's antagonist, Alexander, Earl of Mar, the best of the Wolf of Badenoch's

many illegitimate sons, rebuilt, under the Council's orders, the Castle of Inverness. The Rolls record the cost of large quantities of materials, lime, timber, stones, used for the building, and also the wages of master masons and others. The new castle was a towered structure. The Earl of Mar likewise made two "turnspikes" for it; that is to say, two winding stairs in circular towers. He must have had some difficulty, perhaps of a temporary kind, until lead or slates could be procured, in roofing it; for the people of Inverness are allowed a remission of duties for having covered some of the towers of Mar's Castle with "duvates," or turf. A "Scotch house," or timber building, was part of the structure. The Second James spent money on building "a palace" at Inverness, which probably means that he added a royal residence to Mar's Castle. We hear nothing more after 1460 of castle or palace, until Inverness, town and castle, are captured by Farquhar Mackintosh, on behalf of the Lord of the Isles, near the end of the century. It seems that on that occasion both town and castle were burned. In consequence of the devastation the town's payment of rent and duties to the King was for a time remitted. Soon afterwards the Earl of Huntly was appointed keeper of the Castle, and the office became hereditary in the family. Farquhar Mackintosh was the son of Duncan Mackintosh, the first "Captain" of the Clan Chattan named in the records. It was the settled policy of James IV. to break the power of the Lord of the Isles forever more, by inducing his vassals to take Crown Charters of their lands. Duncan Mackintosh, the "Captain" of the Clan Chattan, who held his lands in Lochaber of the Lord of the Isles, was one of the first to accept a Crown Charter. His son Farquhar was not as true as his father to the new feudal allegiance, and he suffered accordingly. He had to deal with a King who was not to be trifled with. Farquhar was sent to prison about the year 1495, and he is found nearly eighteen years later still a prisoner in Dunbar Castle, with a pretty liberal allowance for his maintenance there. Perhaps Flodden set him free. In the course of his long imprisonment he found it necessary to cancel all his "fealls," or alliance and manrent bonds, because his former allies and his relations and friends were making a bad use of them. It was scarcely fair to former vassals of the Lords of the Isles, who received Crown Charters, to find themselves afterwards placed under new feudal superiors, as was the case in Lochaber when Huntly received the lordship thereof. In Cantire, Knapdale, and the Southern Isles, Argyll was very much what Huntly was in the east side of the country. As long as James IV. lived these lieutenants of his helped greatly in carrying out his

policy, and no doubt aggrandized themselves at the same time. Argyll died witn James at Flodden, and his successor was ten years later accused of oppression and deprived of his lieutenancy. The Crown, however, was still too weak to act directly on the old vassals of the Isles with sufficient effect, and, with a few exceptions, such as MacIain of Ardnamurchan, each newly-made King's man liked to be a law to himself. The previous method of exercising authority through Huntly and Argyll had consequently to be resorted to again.

Clan and Clan Surnames.

Before 1400 very few Highland clan surnames are found in charters and public records. Little more than a century later, when King James and the flower of the Scotch nobility, gentry, and commons perished at Flodden, nearly all the clan surnames we have to-day were flourishing and rapidly superseding patronymics in charters and records. Somerled's descendants, whether children of Donald, Dugall, or any other chieftain, were from first to last record people. In other cases, leading families in whom chiefship or chieftainship, or captainship, of surnames vested afterwards, can be traced up to the reigns of the Second and Third Alexanders, and, in rare instances, to that of William the Lion. The Clan Duff or Macduffs have a fair right to say that, as a surnamed lineage, they go back to Macbeth's time. They certainly have the honour of being the first named as a clan with an ancient privilege, confirmatory of their legend, in a State document. But while no doubt the distinct lineages with clan instincts and customs always existed among the Celts of Scotland, the fifteenth century is the great century for the evolution of most of the clan surnames we have to-day. In the islands and in large parts of the mainland, the fall of the nearly independent principality of the Lords of the Isles liberated Macleods, Macleans, Mackenzies, and many others from record obscurity. In other places various causes operated in favour of giving prominence to clan surnames and alliances—one of which was bonds of manrent and of mutual aid and protection. On the Border, like causes, as in the Highlands, produced like effects. Clannishness prevailed in ancient Galloway and in southern Ayrshire, in Bruce's Earldom of Carrick particularly. Many of the Gaelic surnames, whether saintly or tribal, of the people of that region were record-marked before the greater number of the Highland clan surnames advanced to record recognition. Imitation, and no doubt necessities of existence, extended the clannish organisation, natural to

the Border Celts, to their non-Celtic neighbours of the Middle and Eastern Marches. On the other hand, feudal organisation superseded the Celtic one in Fife.

The Clan Mackenzie.

If the enlightened policy and personal influence of James IV., who several times visited the Isles and West Coast, raised by Crown charters the former vassals of the Lords of the Isles to the status of feudal barons in the eye of the law, they forthwith further raised themselves in their own eyes as chiefs of tribes bearing their surnames and claiming common descent; which claim was usually well founded, although there were probably many cases of adoption. On the mainland of Ross-shire the rise of the Clan Mackenzie to leading position was astonishingly sudden. Before Harlaw we have seen no mention at all of the Mackenzie surname in the records of the kingdom of Scotland, although it cannot be doubted that in Kintail the family from which the future chiefs and clan sprung must have for a long time previously been important local vassals of the Earls of Ross, and afterwards held a similar position under Donald of Harlaw and his two successors. A century later the Mackenzies had expanded into a great clan with large territorial possessions. Then came the Reformation, which gave them new and greater chances of expansion and acquisition, of which they took full advantage, having in the then disturbed state of the country no fear of occasionally breaking the law. Before 1600 they had made themselves the ruling clan of Ross-shire, and had extended their possessions from Kintail to the Black Isle. As a clan of one lineage they could not have been numerically very strong during this period of astonishing conquests. No part of their territories was indeed ever solidly planted by Mackenzie tenants. But they knew how to amalgamate clannish with feudal organisation, and consequently succeeded in acquiring and retaining large stretches of the mainland of Ross, and later of adding thereto the Island of Lewis. The chiefs of Kintail planted out Mackenzies as vassals of their own in all new possessions, and the Mackenzies so planted out, while true to their chiefs and their clan, conciliated, or, when needed, coerced, the old native tenants so as to make them good Mackenzie subjects and soldiers.

The Clan Gregor.

Their lawless and criminal proceedings in the sixteenth century, their cruel oppression in consequence thereof, the long proscription of their surname, their indestructible vitality, and remarkable bravery, made the Macgregors the most romantic of all the Highland clans. But further back than Black John, who abducted and forcibly married Helen Campbell, daughter of Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchay, and a young widow, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, it is difficult to trace their authentic history. Their legendary history finds no corroboration from records or from the early chroniclers. Yet it may contain many grains of truth, if they only could be winniwed from the fictions. The Macgregor surname belongs to the era of the five Jameses. The Rolls do not throw much light on its origin. The Dean oo Lismore, his brother Duncan, "daor oglach" or servitor, and the Dean's curate at Fortingall, supply to some extent by obituary notices an outline of the history of their clan, from the death of John "Gregorius" of Glenorchay, in 1390, to 1579. Even in the hands of these three Macgregors the clan surname only became fixed after the death of Gregor, son of one-eyed John, who died in 1415. By whatever patronymic or surname they were known, they must have been a pretty numerous, if, perchance, a scattered kindred before Gregor of 1415, and John Gregorius of 1390. The many death notices in the "Chronicle of Fortingall" between Gregor's death and the end of the century prove that beyond dispute. But with the exception of Glenstrae, held of a subject superior, where were their land possessions? In the "Libri Responsionum" there is no Macgregor sasine recorded. But in 1468, or 1470, "Duncan Beg," or Duncan the Little, was King's tenant for four years of ten merklands in Glenlyon, that is to say of the "Toiseachd" of Roro. He succeeded Alan Stewart, whose lease was not renewed because he had not paid his rent. Duncan died seven years later, but his descendants continued as tenants or tacksmen of the King, and afterwards of the Menzieses of Weem, for many generations. About 1430 the slaughter of a man and the despoliation of his lands by Macgregors in Strathearn is recorded in the Rolls. Payments are made to two Macgregor priests in the succeeding reigns, one of whom was chaplain of Dumbarton Castle. Towards the end of the fifteenth century a Macgregor is mair of Crieff. With the exception of the slaughter of the Strathearn man, there is no sign of the lawlessness which characterised Clan Gregor proceedings during the next

century. The said proceedings were not due to a double dose of original sin, but to a sense of injury. If we may venture on such slight foundation as Duncan Beg's lease of Roro, and the man of Crieff's official position, to assume that the ancestors of the Clan Gregor had for centuries been kindly tenants of the King's lands, foresters, local officials, and tacksmen, in later times, of thanages, that supposition would account for the claim of descent from Kenneth MacAlpin, and for the vengeful resentment aroused by the feu-ferme charters of James IV. and his successors to individual owners. The process to which kindly tenants and local officials of the Crown would be subjected by the feuing charters to individual proprietors would be the opposite of that by which the gentry of the Isles were raised from Macdonald vassalage to the independence of free barons. The Clan Gregor, moreover, in the sixteenth century, began, although they did not end there, the slaughters and depredations for which they were subsequently prosecuted, and cruelly persecuted in the Lennox and Perthshire districts, which had been Crown lands from the dim ages of antiquity. The forests of Strathgartney, Mamlorne, Benmore, etc., which still belonged to the King, were their places of refuge, and in Breadalbane they took to squatting on the Church lands of the Abbots of Scone, and the Perth Carthusians, to whom the First James had given Ardtalnaig, and his son the barony of Glendochart with the exception of Macnab's "Eilan Ryne," and the property of Charles Campbell in Glenfalloch.

The hereditary tendency existed over all Scotland, but it was stronger in the Celtic than in the "Gallda" districts, because it was a natural adjunct of clannishness. Forfeitures and transfers of ownership produced more or less displacement always of old tenants and local officials to make room for kinsmen or trusty supporters of new owners. The temporary occupation of Rossshire by the Lords of the Isles left its permanent traces on the population of that country, which, with all their absorbing and displacing vigour, the Mackenzies were not able to efface. In Lochaber the Macdonalds kept a firm hold as middlemen of Keppoch and common tenants, although the lordship passed to the Gordons, and the Mackintoshes were emancipated from their former vassalage. The people displaced through changes of ownership often nursed their wrath to keep it warm, never forgetting their "duchas" or hereditary claim to ancestral possessions, although in most cases that claim had never recognition and sanction from the written law of the land.

"THE KING OF THE COMMONS."

In 1539 James the Fifth sent a Royal Commission of assedation to the North, to let or set his lands of the Earldom of Ross and Lordship of Ardmanach on five years' leases. The Commissioners were the Comptroller, David Wood of Craig; Robert Reid, Abbot of Kinloss; James Foulis of Colintoun, Clerk of the Rolls; Thomas Bellenden, Director of Chancery; and Henry Lawder, King's Advocate. They began their sittings at Inverness on the 21st of April, 1539, and such cases as were left over at Inverness were afterwards settled by the Comptroller in Edinburgh. James the Fifth deserved to be called "The King of the Commons." All his assedation Commissions were instructed to favour the cultivating tenants, and not to grant leases of large tracts of Crown lands to men of big estates, with liberty to have sub-tenants. James set his face against the system of middlemen which prevailed during the confused years of his minority. His father's system of feu-fermes had, on increased rent, given much of the old Crown lands to private owners. But, by forfeitures and revocations, James became a larger proprietor of Highland property than any King of Scotland nad been since the War of Independence. By means of his assedation Commissions he checked the grasping policy of mighty local potentates, and brought the tenants of the Crown into direct contact with their sovereign landlord. As a statesman he misread the portents of the time in which he lived; and as a man he led a scandalously immoral life, but he was always a popular favourite, and not undeservedly, for his constant aim was to raise the people and to abase the too powerful nobles who set law and justice at defiance. As they contain the names of the cultivating tenants, James the Fifth's assedations are fuller and far more interesting than those of his predecessors.. The system he tried to establish was gradually abandoned after his death, and the feu-ferme charters of his father were also, in course of time, converted as a rule into free barony charters.

AFTER JAMES THE FIFTH'S DEATH.

When James died, the administrative machinery was so well organised and firmly fixed that it worked on without a jar. Arran, the next heir to the throne after baby Mary, was the natural guardian, or 'tainistear,' of the realm, while the Queen-Dowager was as naturally the guardian of her child. So to the next heir and to the Queen-Dowager their separate duties were entrusted. Genial, oscillating, easy-going Arran was scarcely the

right man in the right place during the troublesome times in which his governorship happened to be cast. The Queen-Dowager, as a wife and mother, was an admirable woman; but in affairs of State, while she shewed herself possessed of the ruling capacity of her remarkable family, she also proved that she shared likewise in their unfathomable guile; unfathomable indeed to their own generation, but quite intelligible now. The moment Henry the Eighth heard of his nephew of Scotland's death he claimed roughly the infant Mary as a bride for his son Edward, and when Mary of Guise and Cardinal Beaton joined forces to thwart his project and to keep Scotland bound down to the French alliance, bluff Harry was foolish enough to go to war with Scotland. The English invasions devastated the Border counties, while the escape of Donald Dubh of the Isles from Edinburgh Castle, after his forty years' imprisonment, gave Henry a Celtic ally of at least great temporary importance. But Donald Dubh's influence proved to be less than either Henry or himself before trial supposed it to be. James the Fourth and his son had so far effected a settlement of the island and mainland forfeited estates of the Lords of the Isles, by giving their vassals feudal Crown charters, that the restoration of the old regime had been made next to impossible. The Clan Donald chieftains themselves did not strive with united will and resolution to re-establish the Principality of the Isles. The Donald Dubh episode, which was unsuccessful almost from the beginning, quickly terminated by Donald's death in Ireland. There are few direct references to Donald Dubh and the rebellion in this 18th volume of the Exchequer Rolls, although there are many concerning sequelæ of previous Clan Donald forfeitures.

In this volume, the Isles, which were so very prominent in previous ones, almost vanish out of sight, either because they fairly well preserved the order the King of the Commons had established in them, or because Arran, beset with greater cares, and constitutionally negligent, let them stew in their own juice. The issuing of Commissions of Justiciary to local potentates indicates the increase of disorder on the Highland mainlands, although they were beyond the scope of the invasions which devasted the southern counties, and also the weakness of the central authority, even before the ecclesiastical leaven introduced a new ferment. Two of these Commissions correct both the disputed dates, 1536 and 1556, of the storming of the Castle of Borwe in Sutherland. The first of these—dated Edinburgh, 17th August, 1554—empowers Hugh Kennedy of Girvane Mains, Knight, to try all

thieves, sornars, and fire-raisers, within the dioceses of Ross and Caithness, as well in town as in country, and all the aiders and abettors of the rebel Y. M'Kay. The second—dated 4th October, 1554—empowers John, Earl of Sutherland, and Sir Hugh Kennedy, conjunctly and severally, to punish each and every person who delayed or stayed away from the army at the siege of the house of 'Boirrow.' The storming took place, no doubt, between the two dates. The Sutherland affair was unlike the other disorders of the period; for it was a war between a clan and a feudal magnate, which had come down from generation to generation. Y. M'Kay is the mode in which Lowland scribes phonetically corrupted Aoidh MacAoidh. But the corruption did not start with them. Aodh MacAoidh would have been the correct form in Gaelic, but it is evident that the Farr people had preferred the genitive to the nominative of their chief's name before 1554. In 1851, the absence of John, Earl of Sutherland, in France, gave the Mackay chief a good chance, of which he fully availed himself, for avenging old clan wrongs and grievances by invading and despoiling the earldom. He was summoned to a justiciary court at Inverness, and refused to attend. He was then outlawed, and the Earl of Sutherland and Sir Hugh Kennedy were authorised to raise the array of Sutherland and Ross to war with him—to pursue him with fire and sword would be the terms of their commission. He wisely declined to meet them in open fight, and so they resolved to sit down to besiege his Castle of Borwe, which they took and levelled to the ground, after a short siege.

We have searched in vain for any reference to the doings and "Justification" of Ewen Alanson of Lochiel, who is traditionally said to have been a great chief of cattle-lifters, and to have been executed at Elgin. Towards the end of James the Fifth's reign he could not have been an outlaw, for he then got sasine of lands which are Lochiel lands to the present day. Huntly's commission ordinarily invested him with all sorts of functions, but the Exchequer Rolls throw no light on his proceedings in Badenoch and Lochaber during the regency period. Had there not been a long suspension of the Gordon power after the escape of King James from the Douglases? We find that on the 16th of April, 1554, the Sheriff of Inverness has to account, through a sasine given to George, Earl of Huntly, for £3 4s, for rents of the Castle and castle-place of Inverlochy, with its ancient bounds, moats, ponds, closes, and lawn—'lie grene'—which through non-entry had been previously in the hands of the Queen and her late father for the space of thirty-one years, and for 2d by duplication of blench rent.

The Castle of Inverlochy was, of course, like the Castle of Inverness, held by the Gordons on terms and tenures entirely different from those on which they held their landed estates.

Dingwall Castle and Conon Fishery.

George Munro of Dalgardy figures rather prominently in Queen Mary's time as Chamberlain of Ross and Ardmannach, Captain of the Castle of Dingwall, and Custumar of Inverness, Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness. He is styled "of Delcartie" in the Rolls, but when he signed an obligation to pay up arrears in 1565, he designated himself "George Munro of Dawachcarte." He gives the same "with my hand" signature on a similar occasion in 1566. No doubt, Dawach Carte was the true old name of his place, but whoever could think that 'Dalcartie,' and still less 'Dalgardy,' hailed from such a source? Although the fact is not expressly stated, we may safelv assume that the Chamberlain used Dingwall Castle as his official residence. A yearly payment is made for winning peats and stacking them in Dingwall Castle. In Sir William Murray of Tullibardin's 1567 account, mention is made of £8 13s 4d spent on "'burdis' chains, bars, and other necessaries" for the new gate of Dingwall Castle. There could have been no garrison, like Wishart's small garrison at Ruthven, for if there had been a garrison, however small, the keep and wages would have appeared in the accounts. Since peats formed the Chamberlain's sole fuel at Dingwall Castle, are we to infer that, in Queen Mary's time, that district, and all Easter Ross, indeed, were bare of wood? That inference is undoubtedly borne out by many other indications.

In the same account in which the expenses for the new door fo Dingwall Castle are given, we meet with a payment of 52/ by the Comptroller, for "the freight and transport of six barrels of salmon from Dingwall, in Ross, to the port of Findhorne, in Moray, and thence to the port of Leith." The fishings of the Conon belonged to the Queen, and from the care taken of them, and the export of barrels to Leith, and use and sale of salmon at home, they must have been very productive. In 1565, John Wardlaw in Leith buys 16 barrels of salmon from the Queen's Conon fishery. We can see from the payments made that the Conon fishing business was fully organised. To take one account, that of 1561—A money fee of £3 6s 8d is paid to "a servitor called the kennare of the water of Conane for the keeping of the salmon of the Queen," and he also receives for his meat and drink—"pro suis esculentis et poculentis'—12 bolls of bear. The

'kennare'—probably 'ceann-aire' spoiled—is a permanent servant. In many of the accounts he is called 'Canar.' Another permanent servant is the 'circinator,' or cooper, who in this account gets 40/ for his fee. A good deal of outlay is made on building cruives, and on cobbles, &c.

Queen Mary at Inverness and in Badenoch.

In his account for 1563, the Comptroller, Sir John Wischart (or Wishart) of Pitarro, takes credit for expending on the house and household ("domo et familia") of our Lady the Queen, during the time of her residence within the burgh of Inverness, in the month of September, in the year 1562, 28 wedders and 36 capons. The other food and drink supplies, which, we may assume, were on the same liberal scale, were probably bought by the household officials in the open market.

In Badenoch, a saying has come down that "Bad Queen Mary" burned the woods of that district. As to the burning of the woods, we cannot say, but the 19th volume of the Exchequer Rolls proves beyond dispute that, in her expedition against Huntly, Queen Mary did go to Badenoch, and spent at least some days there—clearly at Ruthven. Immediately on the heels of the battle of Corrichie, military occupation was taken of the lands of the Gordons. After the gruesome trial, condemnation, and forfeiture of the dead Earl, in Edinburgh, Wischart or Wishart of Carnbeg was appointed Chamberlain of the forfeited lands. In this volume, he renders three separate accounts of his intromissions as Chamberlain of Badenoch, Chamberlain of Lochaber, and Chamberlain of Strathdee, Braemar, and Cromar. Wishart's Badenoch account, which was not audited until 1567, is for three terms, beginning 1st February, 1562-3, and ending 1st July, 1564. One of the items in it is an expediture of £40 16s 8d on the purchase of 44 wedders, 3 marts, and 8 lambs for the Queen and her household at the time of her residence in Badenoch. Her residence there must have been at Ruthvn Castle, which she enjoined Wishart to occupy and garrison for her. He only paid for a garrison of six servants, but the place itself was strong, and with "great fettir lokkis, paddo lokkis, and stok lokkis," and gunpowder ('pulvere bumbardino') from Edinburgh, he was safe enough, and to thieves and rebels formidable enough, since the Laird of Grant and The Mackintosh, and even the chief vassals and tenants of Huntly, were all at his service. There may be some hint of the burning vengeance attributed to Queen Mary in

the fact recorded by Wishart that during the three terms of his account the lands of 'Ballakmoir were lying waste, and therefore paying no rent in produce, animals, or money. It is a hundred account the lands of 'Ballakmoir' were lying waste, and therefore pities that this Lowland Chamberlain did not give a detailed of Badenoch and Lochaber in the reign of Queen Mary.

17th MARCH, 1898.

There was a largely attended meeting this evening. Captain James Wilson Fraser of Balnain, Strathcrrick, was elected an ordinary member of the Society, after which Rev. Thos. Sinton, E.C. Manse, Dores, read a valuable portion of his interesting contributions, entitled—"Snatches of Song Collected in Badenoch." The paper was as follows:—

SNATCHES OF SONG COLLECTED IN BADENOCH.

Having arranged to give a further contribution of Gaelic poetry, under this familiar heading, to the Society during the current session, I was proceeding to collect such scraps and jottings as might answer my purpose, when, through the kindness of the Rev. Dr Forsyth, of Abernethy, there was put into my hands certain MSS. which came into his possession some years ago. They were in various hand-writings, and part of them had evidently been in existence since early in the century.

Dr Forsyth having requested me to examine them, and allowed me to make any use of them I thought proper, I resolved to copy, the greater part, so as to secure their preservation in the "Transactions" of the Gaelic Society. The verses now given were all, with the exception of "Crodh Chailein" and a few *disjecta membra*, written down by the late Mr Donald Macrae, sometime resident at Aviemore.

In these circumstances, I had thought of changing the designation of my paper, until I recollected that Kincardine and most of Duthil were in the lordship of Badenoch, when it seemed to me that the matter might be allowed to stand as it is—the poems being prefaced by this explanatory note.

William Gow—better known as Uilleam Ruighe 'n Uidh—belonged to the district of Tulloch. The place from which he recived his sobriquet occupies a lofty elevation on the rising shoulders of the Grampians. He was born somewhere about 1760 to 1770, and seems to have led a wild and unsettled life among the mountain solitudes around Cairngorm. His escapades as a poacher form the subject of many of his verses, which reproduce very vividly the scenery, the associates, and the habits he was familiar with. Eventually he enlisted in the army, the restraints and routine of which must have been particularly irksome to the ex-hunter. As a soldier, he served in the Peninsula, and, having suffered the terrible hardships attendant upon the retreat to Corunna, he contracted an illness from which he died shortly after arriving at Portsmouth. His poems, which I enumerate below, being, as one may say, of a biographical character, will demand few explanatory notes.

I.

There has probably been no Gaelic song more popular during this century throughout Badenoch and Strathspey than "Allt an Lochain Uaine." A gun, presented to him by Colonel Grant of Rothiemurchus, William Gow often alludes to in his verses as "Nighean a' Choirneil." Addressing it here as a blooming maiden, he gives vent to his exulting feelings in this fine lyric, that comes to us like a pure invigorating breath of mountain air, and carries us in imagination to the wild, lonesome region between the valleys of the Spey and the Dee:—

Aig Allt an Lochain Uaine,
Gu'n robh mi uair a' tàmh,
'S ged bha 'n t-àite fuar,
Bha 'n fhàrdach fuathasach blàth;
Ged thigeadh gaoth bho thuath orm,
No cathadh luath bho 'n àird,
Bha Allt an Lochain Uaine
Le 'fhuaim 'g am chur gu pràmh.

LUINNEAG.

Mo chaileag bhoidheach chuach-buidhe,
Na biodh ort fuachd no greann;
Ged tha mi 'dol as m' eòlas,
Ma 's beò mi, thig mi ann;

'N uair 'bhios damh na cròice
Ri bòilich anns a' ghleann,
Cha tugainn blas do phòige,
Air stòr nan Innsean thall.

Oidhche dhomh 's mi 'm ònar,
'S mi 'còmhnuidh anns a' ghleann,
'Am bothan beag nan sgòr,
Far an cluinntear boichdeal mhang;
Shaoil leam gu'n cuala mi
Fuar ghuth os mo cheann,
Ag innseadh dhomh 'bhi seòlta,
Gu 'n robh an tòir 's a' ghleann.

Dh' éirich mi le buaireadh,
A's thog mi suas mo cheann;
Gach paidreag bha mu 'n cuairt domh
Chuir mi mu 'm ghuaillnibh teann;
Bha "Nigh'n a' Chòirneil" shuas bhuam,
A choisinn buaidh 's gach àm—
"Ghaoil," thu'irt i, "na biodh gruaim ort,
Ma 's ruaig e na bi mall."

Shiubhail mi gach aonach,
Bho Laoigh gu Càrn-a'-Mhàim,
A's bheachdaich mi gach caochan,
Nach biodh daoine ann;
Ach mu 'n d' éirich grian, no
Mu 'n d' fheuch i air aon bheann,
Dh' aithnich mi 's an uair, gu'n robh
Am "Madadh Ruadh" 's a' ghleann.

Labhair mi le céill,
Agus dh' éisd mi ris gach allt,
Mar labhair iad ri chéile,
A's iad gu léir gun chainnt;
Labhair mi ri m' Uachdaran,
'Thug uisg' á cruas nam beann:
Le còmhnadh 'n Fhir 'chaidh chéusadh,
Cha bhi mi féin 'am fang.

I have thought it best to give this song without editorial emendation of any sort, although several lines might be supplied in a smoother form from the only printed version with which I am familiar—that given by "Glenmore."

II.

This piece is worthy of a place as giving a glimpse of the discomfitures and woes to which the sportsman was exposed:—

'S muladach an-aoibhinn mi,
'S gur beag mo spéis do 'n ghunnaireachd,
'S a liuthad céum a dh' fhalbh mi leat,
Feadh sgàirnaichean a's mhullaichean.

'S gur diombach air an fhear ruadh sin mi,
'S bu chruaidh nach d' rinn e fuireach rium,
Gu'n chaith mi mo chuid bròg an ris,
'S thàinig craicionn nam méur uile dhiom.

'S na h-osanan bu dàicheile,
Gu'n d' fhalbh na sàilean builеach asd',
'S phàigh mi mo leth-chrùn orra,
'S iad ùr 'n uair 'chuir mi umam iad.

'S cha 'n fhaigh mi aon a chàireas iad,
Gu'n ruig mi 'n tàillear urramach,
Ach seòlaidh mi gu Dòmhnull iad,
Bho 'n 's aithne dhòmh-s' an duine sin.

'S gheibh sinn suiceannan matha bàna,
Bho mo mhàthair théid a chumadh riuth',
Mar sin a's bréidean sàlach,
Snàthainnean 's a h-uile rud.

III.

On the eve of an expedition to the Earl of Fife's forest in Braemar, our bard composed these triplets, partly to celebrate a recent foray in which he and his companion had engaged, and partly with reference to their immediate intentions.

Moch air maduinn Di-màirt,
Chaidh Teàrlach an àird,
'S mharbh e 'm boc bàn mu 'm bu léir dhomh.

Chuir e 'chas deth le luaidh,
Gus na thuit e 'san uair,
'S thàinig Fòrsair an taobh shuas 's e 'g éigheachd.

Thàinig Teàrlach an àird,
'S a ghunna 'na làimh,
'S cha robh srad innt' dheanadh stà no feum dhuinn.

'S cha b' e Teàrlach bha mall,
'Dol a mach ris a' chàrn,
Leis na bròganbha fann 's a chéile.

'S an àm dìreadh a' chàirn,
'S a' tighinn a staigh leis an allt,
Bha agh langach nan eang fo chréuchd ann.

Deoch-slàinte nam fiadh,
Bho 'n tha sinn a' triall,
Gu talamh an Iarla mhòir.

Gu Dughleannan fuar,
Far am biodh am fear ruadh
A dhìreadh a suas an t-sròin:

Gu Rothach Bhra'mhàrr—
Gu Rothach gun ghràs—
Gu Rothach a' "Channsair" Mhòir.

Perhaps the word "channsair" should read "chabhsair." Munro, alluded to here, was one of the Earl of Fife's foresters.

IV.

The ringing stanzas of this hunting song are full of interest. The bard was possessed with a marvellous enthusiasm for the chase, which no amount of hardship could damp—or freeze:—

Och! gur mi tha muladach,
'S a' mhonadh 's mi leam fhéin,
'S mi bhi 'tàmh an cròdhan beag
Bothain 'thog mi 'm fhéum;
Cha robh spaid no tuagh agam,
No ball mu 'n cuairt do m' làimh,
Ach a' bhiodag laidir bharrachaol,
'S ann leatha bhuain mi 'm fàl.

Tha na h-osanan air reothadh orm,
Mu 'n téid a' cheòthag suas,
Tha gaoth a's cur a's cathadh ann,
'S e gabhail domh 's a' chluais;
Ach glacaidh mis' 'Bhan-Ghranndach so,
A tha 'nam làimh 's an uair,
A's fadaidh is' an teine dhomh,
Le fùdar sgeireach cruaidh.

'N uair ni is' an teine dhomh,
'S 'n uair théid a' cheòthag suas,
Tha bonnach anns a' mhàileid,
A's càise làidir cruaidh;
Gu'n dean mi fhéin mo shuipeir dheth,
'S a rithisd théid mi 'm shuain;
'S 'n uair dh' éireas mi 's a' mhaduinn,
Air a' Ghlas-allt bheir mi ruaig.

'S mur faigh mi anns a' Ghlas-allt,
Na fir aigeannach tha bhuam,
Ma ruigeas mi an Dùghleannan,
A's bràigh nan stùc tha shuas;
Siridh mi gu cothromach
Gach coire dhiubh a's bruach,
'S cha chuir mi as a h-aon diubh,
Ma dh' fhaodas le gaoth-chuairt.

'S ma bhios an oidhch' gle amharra,
'S gu'm bi'dh mi air mo ruaig,
Gu'n toir mi fhéin a' chròthag orm,
Bha agam anns a' bhruaich;
'S ged bhiodh cur a's cathadh ann,
'S e 'gabhail domh bho thuath,
Cha chùram domh gu latha,
Ged chaidlinn ann glé shuain.

'N uair 'dh' éireas mi 's a' mhaduinn,
As an lag 's am beil mo shuain,
Gu'n toir mi fhéin am brudhach orm,
'S gach uidheam orm mu'n cuairt;
Siridh mi gu cothromach
Na bealaichean mu'n cuairt,
'S gu'm faic mi na daimh chabarach,
Air leacainn Meall-nan-Uan.

'S ma gheibh mi anns a' choire iad,
Gun 'cheòthag thighinn mu 'n cuairt,
Ealaidh mi gu dìchiollach,
Mu 'n gabh a h-aon diubh 'n ruaig;
Gu'n cuir mi air an t-socair i,
Mu 'n las am fùdar-cluais,
'S gur fada chluinntear 'ghleadhair,
Bhios air goile an daimh ruaidh.

'N uair gheibh es an gleadhair ud,
'S a théid a spleadhan suas,
Ruithidh mi gu dìchiollach,
Mu 'n téid e rithisd 'na luath's;
Bheir làmh air a' bhiodaig,
A tha air crios 's an truaill,
'S gu'n smàl mi sios gu carraig i,
An amhaich an daimh ruaidh.

An sin an uair a shruthas e—
An fhuil tha ruith gu luath,
Tha sgianag laghach bhiorach agam,
Leigeas 'mhionach air a' bhruaich;
'S 'n uair 'gheibh mi ann am bhreacan e,
Gu'n téid mi rithisd 's an ruaig,
'S cha ghabh mi fhéin bonn eagail,
Mur tig milleadh air mo luath's.

'S 'n àm tarruing thun an fheasgair,
Am bidh na fleasgaich 'dol mu'n cuairt,
An Rothach a's Mac Coinnich
Na fir ghoilleach 's nach 'eil truas;
'S mithich dhomh-sa tàirsinn as
An àros sin gu luath,
'S gu'n toir mi bràigh nan stùcan orm,
'S cha chùram dhomh o thuath.

'S 'n uair shuidheas mi air socair,
'S gun dosguinn bhi ri luaidh,
Bheir mi làmh air Botal
Tha fo 'n t-sop am bun na bruaich;
'S ma thachras do na companaich,
Bhi làimh rium anns an uair—
Lord Fife a's damh na cròice—
An deoch-slàinte théid mu 'n cuairt.

Mackenzie, mentioned in the second last verse along with Munro, was another of Lord Fife's foresters, who had given Gow many an unquiet hour.

v.

"Oran Carn a' Mhaim" used to divide popular favour with "Allt an Lochan Uaine" itself. I remember to have heard both sung very sweetly by the late Mr William Kennedy, Newtonmore. The elegiac references, here and elsewhere, to Colonel William Grant of Rothiemurchus, and to his nephew, Captain William, are most touching, and of rare beauty. It will be noticed that in this song he calls his gun "Nic-Alpein"—the explanation being that Mac Alpein was the patronymic of the laird of Rothiemurchus, who had presented it to him. Occasionally he alludes to it as "a' Bhan-Granndach."

A rìgh! gur muladach mi
Anns a' mhunadh leam fhìn,
Thàinig uisge orm, dìl', is ceò.

'S mi 'bhi 'm bun Càrn a' Mhàim,
Far nach b' àbhaist 'bhi gann,
Fir chabrach nan eang 's nan cròc.
'S mi 'bhi 'm bun Càrn a' Mhàim, etc.

Na fir eagànta luath,
Air nach beireadh fear truagh
'N uair a dhìreadh iad suas an t-sròin:

Leam bu mhiann 'bhi 'nan déigh,
Seal mu 'n éireadh a' ghréin,
Le Nic-Ailpein bho 'n geura pòg.

'Nuair a chumainn i riù,
'S i nach mèalladh mo shùil,
'N uair a lasadh am fùdar gorm.

Gur e Coirneal an àigh,
Thùg i mach as an stall,
Ged a tha e 'n diugh marbh fo 'n fhóid.

Coirneal Uilleam an àigh,
Cas a dhìreadh nan càrn,
Dha 'm bu dùthchas 'bhi ann 's bu chòir.

'N uair a rachadh thu 'n bhéinn,
'S do ghillean 'ad dhéigh,
Bhiodh mac cabraich an fhéidh fo leòn.

'S 'n uair a bhiodh tu air sliabh,
'S tu 'gleidheadh nan eun,
'S tu gu'n leagadh dheth sgiath chum feòir.

'S i do chas a bha luath,
'S do làmh a bha cruaidh
'N uair a thàrladh thu 'n ruaig na 'n tòir.

Bu tu 'n t-iasgair air Spé
Le do mhorgha caol géur,
'S bhiodh do ghillean a' gléusadh leòis.

'S tha d' oighre 'san ùir,
'Ann an crùidse an Dùin,
Caiptean Uilleam mo rùin 's cha bheò.

'S ann a chaill mi mo chùl,
Bho 'n là chaidh thu 'san ùir,
'N uair 'théid m' éigheachd gu cùirt no mòd.

Tha do mhàthair gheal féin,
Trom duilich 'nad dhéigh,
'S tha d' athair gun fhéum fo bhròn.

VI.

In this ditty the bard refers to Macgregor, who was well known in his day as a man of kindred spirit:—

Mi mo shuidhe so 'nochd,
'An Coire Ruairidh nan cnoc,
Tha mi sgìth agus rag 's mi 'g éiridh.

Trì latha dhomh 'n ceò,
A' siubhal nan sgòr,
'S cha d' fhàg mi fo leòn mac eild' ann.

Gu'm beil fòrsairean Mhàrr,
Air gach coire 'n an geàrd,
'G am ruag' anns gach àit' an téid mi.

Tha fear eile 's an ruaig,
Deagh Mhac Ghriogair nam buadh,
Dha 'm math thig gunna 's crios guaill',
Agus biodag de 'n chruaidh air 'fhéile.

'S 'n àm 'tighinn dachaidh bho d' spòrs,
'S tu bhi d' shuidh' 's an taigh-òsd',
Gu 'm biodh botul air bòrd 'g a éigheachd.

'S na 'n tiginn-s' 'n ad chòir,
Air nàile, gheibhinn de còir,
Gar am biodh e chór bonn féum' dhomh.

VII.

Like many young Highlanders, Uilleam Ruighe 'n Uidhe had served in the Fencibles before joining the army. He composed the subjoined verses in Egypt:—

Cha bhi mi ri tuireadh,
Ri mì-ghean no mulad,
Cha 'n e siubhal a' mhunaidh ni féum dhomh.

Ghabh mi m' chead de na beanntan,
Dheth gach coille agus alltan,
Far am biodh na daimh ghreannar 's iad céir-gheal.

Thug mi tamull as m' òige
Greis an armailt Rìgh Deòrsa,
'S théid mi rithist le m' dheòin ann gun éuslain'.

'S ma tha 'n dàn domh thighinn dachaidh,
Gu'm bi luathas 'am chasan,
Bheir mi sgrìob le Nic-Ailpein 'g am féuchainn.

A Dhubh-ghleannan an aonaich!
Far an tric bha mi m' aonar,
Far am biodh na daimh chraobh-dhearg 's iad céir-gheal.

'S air teachd do 'n mhaduinn,
Leam bu mhiannach bhi aca,
'N uair a bhiodh Nic-Ailpein 'an gléusadh.

'S bhiodh na biodagan rùisgte
Dol a phronnadh na rùdain,
Gus na h-ealachain a' ghiùlan gun éislean.

'S ann a dh' ionnsuidh na làire,
'S tric a dhìrich an Làirig,
'S cha 'n fhacas riamh sàs ann am féith i.

'S dha bu Teàrlach bu tàire,
'N àm teannach' na làire,
Gu'm biodh teadhraichean làidir 'g an déuchainn.

'S a liuthad damh cròcach.
Air a cheangal le còrcach.
Thug i dhachaidh gu òrdugh Shir Séumas.

'S ma tha 'n dàn domh thighinn dachaidh,
'S gu'n dean mi féin beartas,
Gheibh Teàrlach bhuam seacaid a's féile.

'S gar an d' fhaod mi bhi làmh ribh,
Bi'dh mi 'g òl nur deoch-slàinte.
Ged a chuir iad air sàl mi do 'n Eiphit.

Charles and his mare, whose virtues are celebrated above, were often of service to Gow in carrying home the spoils of the chase.

VIII.

It is not a little remarkable that one who led the rough life of a professional poacher should be possessed of a vein of such tender feeling as is evinced in this elegy, wherein he bewails the death of his friends and patrons. No less was he of keen sensibilities to the varied effects of nature.

An diugh 's mòr mo chùis iarguinn,
'S mi bhi 'cuimhneach nur fialachd,
Thug nur mulad dà thrian de m' threòir dhiom.

Do 'n mhonadh cha téid mi,
Bho nach fhaic mi sibh fhéin ann,
Cha dean e ach déuchainn a's bròn domh.

Cha téid mi Choire Ruairidh,
Bho nach tig iad 'g am ghluasad,
Na fir churant' bhiodh a' ruaig nan damh cròcach.

Bho nach faic mi a' tighinn,
Luchd a thogail mo chridhe,
Dheanadh làmhach air sithionn nam mòr-bheann.

'S beag an ioghnadh mi liathadh,
Gu'm beil mulad ro chianail,
Bho cheann dà fhichead bliadhna agus còrr orm.

Bho 'n chaidh Uilleam a null bhuainn,
Air chuan nan tonn dùbh-ghorm,
Dh' fhàg sud acain 'g am chiùrradh an còmhnaidh.

Bho nach d' thàinig thu dhachaidh,
Thabhairt sgéul mar a b' ait leinn,
'S a thabhairt ruaig air fir chabraich nam mòr-bheann.

'S an àm dhut dìreadh nan stùchdan,
'S gunna gléusd' air do ghiùlan,
Gu'm biodh pùdhar air ùdlaich' na cròice.

Bhiodh do luaidh air an giùlan,
Le Nic-Ailpein 'g a stiùradh,
'S fuil an cridhe na spùt air a' mhòinteach.

'S 'n uair a chruinn'cheadh Sir Séumas,
A chuid ghaisgeach ri chéile,
Fhuair thu 'n t-urram air thréunad 's air bhòi'chead.

Sùil ghorm mar an dearcaig,
Gruaidh dhearg mar an corcur,
Béul a's binne 's a's blasd' bho 'n tig òran.

'S mòr mo mhulad a's m' éuslain'
Bho 'n a dhealaich thu féin rium,
'S bho 'n a thaisg iad 'an céise nam bòrd thu.

'S tha mo mhulad 'fàs dùbailt',
Bho 'n chaidh Luthais a dhùnadh,
Ann an ciste fo 'n ùir 's e gun deò ann.

'Na shìneadh 's a' chlachan,
Far nach dean mi 'chaoidh 'fhaicinn
Dh' fhàg sud éuslain'each m' aigne 's cha neònach.

'S a liuthad oidhche agus maduinn,
Sinn gun sgìos no gun airsneal,
Ann am frith nan damh bras bha sinn còmhla.

'Am Beann na Bruaich 's Coire Ruairidh,
Agus Dubh-ghleannan gruamach,
Far am faighteadh fear ruadh a' chinn chròcaich.

'S an àm dìreadh na Làirig'
Cha 'n fhacas riamh bàrr ort,
'Dol a shealg a Ghleann-Aithfhinn nam mòr-bheann.

'S beir an t-soraidh so bhuam-sa,
Gu bun Meall-a'-Bhuachaill',
Dh' fhios nan tréun-ghaisgeach chruaidh th' ann a'
còmhnuidh.

Sliochd nan connspullach gléusda,
Mu an d' aithris mi sgéula,
Gur ait a's gur éibhinn leam beò iad.

'S mòr m' aiteas 'bhi 'luaidh air,
Sibh 'thoirt dachaidh an dualchais,
Cha phrabairean truagha na seòid ud.

Ge b' e thàirneadh nur féusag,
Agus fearg oirbh éiridh,
Cha b' uilear dha léigh 'bhi 'g a chòmhnadh.

Luchd a dhìreadh na sléibhtean,
Le an cuilbheire gléusda,
Nach mearachdaich léuda na h-òirlich'.

'N àm dhuibh crasga nam fuar-bheann,
'S a thighinn dlùth do 'n ghréigh uallaich,
Gu'm biodh fuil an fhir ruaidh air a' dòrtadh.

'N uair a theannadh sibh dlùth air,
'S a chaogadh sibh an t-sùil ris,
Gu'm bu ghoirid an ùin' a bhiodh beò aig'.

'N uair a thàirneadh sibh 'n rùdan,
'S a loisgeadh am fùdar,
Bhiodh an anail a' brùchdadh mar cheò as.

IX.

AN ODE TO GRANT OF TULLOCH-IOCHDARACH.

Gu ma slàn do 'n Ghranndach so,
A dh' éigh 's a phàidh an dram so dhuinn;
'S ge b' e thàrladh campaid as,
Bu chinnt' a cheann-sa leòint'.

Cha 'n 'eil e anns na bacaibh so,
No eadar an dà chachalaig,
A chumadh riut-sa baiteal,
Ach am bata bhi 'n ad dhòrn.

'S e Granndach Thulaich-ìochdarach,
An t-ògan laghach, ciallach sin;
Cha 'n fhacas riamh bonn gruamain ort,
No stùpan crion air d' bhòrd.

'N uair 'rachadh thu na mhunadh,
A's a bheireadh tnu do ghunna leat,
Bhitheadh féidh nam mullaichean,
'G am fhuran mu do bhòrd.

An tarmachan cha dìobradh thu,
Air stacan no air sgrìodan,
'N uair thàrladh thu sìnte ris,
'S cuilbheir caol 'n ad dhòrn.

'S cha 'n 'eil e anns an dùthaich,
A chunntadh riut-sa crùintean,
'S gur lìonmhor caileag shùgach,
A lùbadh leis an òg.

Gur lìonmhor 'an Dun-éidinn iad,
A's sìoda a's sròl-éideadh orra,
A rachadh leat-s' a dh' Eirinn,
'S a thréigeadh na bheil beò.

'N uair théid thu ann do bhreaghachas,
Bi'dh Baintighearnan 'g ad mhiannachadh,
A h-uile té dhiubh briathrachadh,
" A chiall! am beil e pòsd'."

x.

A Doleful Ditty.

Rìgh! gur mòr mo chuid chùraim,
'S mi bhi 'm bùthaig na Lairce;
Tha 'n t-uisg orm air drùdhadh,
'S mi fo stùcan nan Ard-bheann.

Gu bheil am mùdan math craicinn
Air Nic-Ailpein ri fhàsgadh.

Gheibh mo bhrathair Nic-Ailpein
'Nam achlais 's mi caillte

Mar ri sud a's mo bhiodag,
Laidir liosanach [*sic*] bharrachaol.

Cha dhìrich mi bruthach,
'S cha shiubhail mi càrr.

'S cha mharbh mi fiadh tuilleadh
Dhiubh 'an coire no 'n garbhlach.

XI.

A Song of the Chase.

Fhuair mi naidheachd an dé
Bho shealgair an fhéidh,
Chuir clach eadar mi féin 's mo bhròg.

'S mi bhi 'n garbh-choire Dhé,
Ann an àros an fhéidh,
Far an cuireamaid féum air lòn.

Troimh sneachda nan spéur,
Seal mu 'n éirich a' ghréin,
Air mo bhreacan 'ga fhéileadh orm.

'N uair 'théid Mac-Ailpein do 'n Ghleann,
'S Nighean an Tuairnir 'na làimh,
Bi'dh fuil air damh seang na cròic'.

Tràth 'shiùbhlas Mac-Aidh
Le bhrod chù mòr bàn,
Agus crith air a' bhrang 's e 'falbh.

Gu 'm beil mulad orm féin,
Nach d' rinn sinn bonn féum'—
Chualas langan an fhéidh 'sa cheò.

'N uair 'thig Mac-Ailpein bho 'n bheinn,
'S e 'na shuidh' 'san taigh-sheinns',
Aig a ghillean bhiodh béin ri òl.

'N uair a thigeadh tu 'n Dùn,
Far an suidheadh a' chùirt,
Chluinnteadh sunnd ann ad rùm air ceòl.

Bhiodh do chùpachan làn,
'Cur suas deochan-slàint'
Fìon dùbailt' bho 'n Spàinnt 'g an òl.

With this piece we must meanwhile bid farewell to Uilleam Ruighe 'n Uidhe. And, in doing so, we cannot avoid a feeling of regret for the untoward fate of one so true-hearted and stout-limbed, and who was so richly endowed with the poetic temperament. We owe a debt of gratitude, too, to the memory of the late Mr D. Macrae for the care and trouble he expended in writing down these songs. It is much to be desired that his son, the Rev. D. Macrae, B.D., minister of Lairg, would publish the literary remains of one who was an excellent Gaelic scholar and an industrious collector of Gaelic poetry and folklore.

XII.

I do not know who was the author of this song, but we gather that he was a soldier acquainted with Spaniards, and on his way by transport to Kingsfort, Goodhope:—

Dh' fhalbh gach rud as an fhasan,
A chuireadh tlachd air gill' òg,
Bho na thàinig a' chasag,
Stocainn fada 's ad mhòr.
'S olc thig sid ann an àite
Nan osanan gearra 's nan gartanan sgàrlaid,
A's féileadh àrd mu 'n ghlùn,
Agus crios mu 'n gualainn
Nach téid fhuasgladh gun chrùn;
Claidheamh caol an deagh fhaobhair,
A's trì chlaisean 'na chùl;

Air a dheanamh gu dìreach,
De 'n fhìor chruaidh ghlan chinnteach',
'S geda lùbadh cha dìobradh
'S e ùr geur fallain gorm;—
Paidhir dhagachan dealbhach,
Bu neo-chearbach an àm gleòis;
Biodag chaol na coise carraigeich'
B' e sid an armachd gill' òg,
Chunnaic mise gach arm dhiùbh,
'S mi 'nam bhalachan beag òg,
Aig fir ghasda na h-Alba mu 'n deach' am meanmna a leòn.

'S na rachadh casg air an luaidhe
Cha 'n fhaigheadh Sasunnach buaidh oirbh,
Ann an aobhar cho cruaidhe ri dhol a bhualadh nan dòrn,
Ach bhon fhuair iad làmh-an-uachdar,
Chuir iad fuadach bochd truagh oirnn,
'Bhi 'gar cur as an Rìoghachd,
Gu ruig Kingfort, Goodhope;—
Gu gearasdan làidir, bloigh craige mar fhàrdach,
"Black dogs" air son pàidheadh, a's burn sàil ann ri òl.
'S math thig sid do no Spàinntich a fhuair an àrach leis òg;
'S ann is coltaiche 'n craicionn ri leathar cairtidh nam bròg.

Ach 's ann fhuair sinne ar n-àrach
Anns na fuar bheannaibh àrda,
Far an lìonmhor damh cròiceach,
Is àirde 'thogadh a shròn,
Agus bradan air linne;—gearr bho innis nam bó:
Far an lìonmhor guth àraich ag éisdeachd gàlaich àl òg,
Far 'm bi'dh chloinn nighinn is dreachmhoire,
Théid 'nan aodach 's 'nan casbheairt,
Sùil is guirme na 'n dearcag, gruaidh dhreachmhor mar ròs.
C'ar son nach deanamaid fuireach mar rinn iomadh fear romhainn—
Air son aonta thri bliadhna, cha 'n fhàg e liath fear bhios òg.

The measures in which these verses are cast seem to be superior to any ordinary rules of prosody.

XIII.

This breezy hunting song was composed by a brother of Colonel John Roy Stewart's:—

Hu-ill ho, cha 'n 'eil mi muladach,
'S a' ghaoth á bhàrr nam mulaichean;
'S ma bhios an turadh ann Di-luain,
Gur luath bheir mi am monadh orm.

Cha dean mi fiadhachd tuille dhoibh,
Cha lion mi 'm bliadhn' na cumain doibh;
'S ma théid mi null, cha tig mi nall,
'S cha chuir sibh 'am fang tuille mi.

'S a Chaluim, 's faon do bharail dhut,
Bhi dol ri gleann a's gaillionn ann;
Le meud an t-sneachda 's tu gun bhròg an,
Cha ruig thu ri d' bheò gun mheileachadh.

B' fhearr dhut tàmh 's na bacaibh so,
'An coille dhlùth 's 'am badanaibh;
Ri cur a's cathadh 's gaoth á tuath,
'S ri reothadh fuar bi'dh fasgadh ann.

'S ged dheanainn tàmh 's na bacaibh so,
'An coille dhlùth 's 'am badanaibh;
Thigeadh tu le lùb mu 'n cuairt,
A's phaighinn duais an fhasgaidh dhut.

XIV.

Archibald Stewart—a native of Glen-Avon, on the Duke of Gordon's property—had enlisted, and was abroad with his regiment—no doubt, the 92nd—when he composed the following ballad:—

Beir an t-soraidh uam féin,
Gu àros an fhéidh
Far an robh mi 'nan déigh 's mi òg:

Gu Beinn Athfhinn nan stùchd,
Nam feadan 's nan lùb,
Far an loisgear am fùdar gorm.

Seal mu 'n éireadh a' ghrian,
Ged bhiodh sneachd air an t-sliabh,
Chluinnteadh langan nam fiadh 'sa' cheò.

Sud a' bhuidheann a b' fhàilt'
'Dol a dh' ionnsuidh paràd,
'S cha 'n iarradh sibh màidsear oirbh.

Cha 'n iarradh sibh geard,
Ach na creagan a b' àird',
'S cha bu chladhaire 'thàladh oirbh.

Bu mhath fradharc ur sùl
'S b' fhurarach air ur cùl,
'S gaoth fhiar nan stùchd m' ur sròin.

'S bho na thàrladh dhomh 'n dràst'
Gu bheil mi air Geard,
Olaidh mi bhur deoch-slàinte mu 'm falbh;

Deoch-slàinte mo dhùthch',
'S nan gillean air thùs—
Luchd a shiubhail nan stùchd-bheann garbh.

'S 'n àm dhomh 'suidhe 's taigh-òsd',
'Gabhail drama le dòigh,
Bi'dh 'n druma dhubh 'g ar n-òrduch' falbh.

'S ged gheibh sinn rùm agus beòir,
A's fìon dearg ann ri h-òl,
'S beag mo thlachd de 'n phòit a bh' ann.

'S ma thàrlas 'san àm,
Gun téid e 'nar ceann,
Tri cheud diubh gun taing ar duais.

Cha b' e sud fasan mo dhùthch',
'N àm a' bhuideal a' rùsg,—
'S iad a shuidheadh gun chùram falbh.

'S ged tha mo ghunn' air dheagh ghleus,
Cha dean mi leath' feum,
'S fada mi bho na féidh 'san àm.

Cha 'n fhaigh sinn coileach, no cearc,
No tarmachan breac;
Cha b' àros doibh "Coast" na Fraing'.

Ach na'm bithinn-s' mar chleachd,
'An Ionarloimhne nam breac,
Gheibhteadh coileach a's cearc 'sa' ghleann;

Agus bradan math bàn,
'An Coire-Cheileir a' snàmh,
Air an tric thug mo làmh-sa toll.

'S na'm bithinn-s' mar bha
Fo stiopall nan càrn,
Cha "mhuntaiginn" geard ri m' bheò.

Cha "mhuntaiginn" geard,
'S cha sheasainn paràd,
'S cha 'n fhaicteadh gu bràth, fhad 's bu
mhaireann mi slàn,
Còta màdair ga chàramh orm.

XV.

Colonel John Roy Stewart was the author of this hunting-song. It is in the form of an ode to the laird of Tulloch :—

Greas, a ghiulla, 's bi gluasad,
Air an uair 's na dean fuireach,
'S thoir soraidh 'n fhir ruaidh bhuam,
Dh' ionnsuidh uachd'ran na Tulaich;
Agus innis do 'n Tighearn
Gu bheil mi 'feitheamh air cumant',
Anns gach càs 'am bi feum air—
'S an dràst', ma théid e 'na mhunadh.

Naile! chunnaic mi uair thu,
'S cha b' fhuathach leat gunna,
Agus mùdan air uachdar,
'Dhol a chuairteachadh munaidh;
'S 'n uair a dheanadh tu sradadh,
Air an leacainn bu luime,
Bhiodh fuil air damh cabrach,
'N uair a leagadh tu d' uileann.

Fhuair thu urram nan criochan-s'
Air son iasgair a's sealgair,
'S ma fhuair, gur tu b' fhiach e,
Air son do ghnìomh anns an anmoch;
Bu leat tachdair na h-abhna,
'S càch 'n an luidhe 'g a dearmad,
'S cha bhiodh miann air na mnathan,
Bho 'n 's tu d' am b' aithne a mharbhadh.

Calpa cruinn ann an osan
'Shiùbhladh faiche a's garbhlach,
B' e do mhiann anns an fhrìth,
Paidhir mhial-chon dearbhta',
'S 'n uair a dheanadh tu fuasgladh
Air na cruachan 's an anmoch,
'S fada chluinnteadh do langan,
'G an cur 'n an deanal air falbh uat.

'S 'n uair a dheanadh tu leagadh
Ri luchd nan seicheacha dearga,
Bi'dh tu féin le do Spàinteach
Ag iarraidh fàth orr' 's 'g an leanmhuinn;
'S ma 's e 's gu'n teann iad ort crasgadh
Leis na madaidh 'g an eàrr-ruith,
Caogaidh thu-sa 'n t-sùil mhaiseach,
'S air meud an astair bi'dh sealg leat.

XVI.

It was with no ordinary pleasure that my eye fell upon this version of "Crodh Chailein," the MS. of which bears that it was taken down from recitation at Lub-nan-Damh, upwards of half a century ago. I had no hopes of ever seeing so many stanzas of the version of this ubiquitous and grand old pastoral, which was sung throughout Braemar, Badenoch, and Strathspey. We are greatly indebted to Dr Forsyth for having preserved it:—

Crodh Chailein, crodh Chailein,
Crodh Chailein mo ghaoil,
Crodh riabhach breac ballach,
Air dhath nan eun-fraoich.

Tha a' chailinn gun leannan,
'S tha 'm balach gun mhnaoi,
'S tha a' bhuarach 's a' chuinneag,
Anns a' mhunadh air chall.

Tha a' chailleach 's i bodhar,
'S tha 'm bodach 's e cam,

'S cha léir dhoibh 'n crodh 'bhleoghann
Le ceò odhar nan càrn.

'S iad mo ghràdh-sa crodh Chailein,
'Bheir am bainn' air an fhraoch,
Air mullach a' mhunaidh,
Gun duine 'nan taobh.

Air mullach a' mhunaidh,
Gun duine 'nan taobh,
Le gogan gun bhuarach,
Gun laogh'icin gun laogh.

'S i bó Bean-an-taighe—
Bó leathann dhubh liath;
Bó lìonadh a' ghogain—
'S bó thogail nan laogh.

'S cha 'n 'eil leithid mo bhà-sa,
Ann am bàthaich an rìgh,
Cluinnear 'geum 'an Dunéidinn,
'S i fhéin 'an Gleann-laoigh.

'S 'n uair 'thigeadh am feasgar,
'S àm eadradh nan laogh,
Gu'n tig mo ghaol dachaidh,
'N déigh 'bhi cosgradh an fhéidh.

'S ge b' oil leis an fhòrsair,
'S geda chailleadh e 'chiall,
Bi'dh mise 's mo leannan,
Ann an gleannan nam fiadh.

'Dol a mach ri Gleann-Eidh,
'S 'tigh'nn a staigh air Gleann-Dé,
Bho ghleannan gu gleannan,
Sìor-leanail an fhéidh.

Cha 'n 'eil mo mhiann sìthne,
'N Gleann-Sìth no 'n Gleann-Dé,

No idir 'n Gleann-Tatha,
No 'n Garbh-choireachan-Dhé.

Cha téid mi na Bheachan,
No a ghleidheadh nan laogh,
Bi'dh fear a' bhreacain chaoil chabhaich,
'G am fheitheamh 'san fhraoch.

The maiden who composed these verses is said to have engaged as dairymaid with an elderly couple, with whom she proceeded to the sheilings. A son of her employers' fell in love with her; and this romantic attachment gave occasion to the song. According to tradition, Cailein was the name of the girl's master. Badenoch has a variant of its own upon this version of "Crodh Chailein," in which local place-names—such as Gleann Truim—are given.

XVII.

I may here be allowed to set down an addtional verse of the amusing lilt which will be found in a former contribution. It was recited in my hearing quite recently in Inverness by an old lady from Badenoch:—

Bidh 'h-uile fear a' farraid rium,
'Farraid am beil bean agam,
'Farraid am beil bean agam,
Is leine shalach ghnàd' orm.

XVIII.

All the remaining verses are from jottings by Dr Forsyth, and are well worthy of preservation.

Eirich mu 'n éirich a' ghrian,
Siubhail dian mu 'n tig an teas,
Ruig mullach a' Chuirn-ghuirm,
Far am faic thu thall is bhos.

Chi mi pòit a' Ghlinne-mhòir,
Chi mi Bu-choinnich is Beag-ghleann,
Chi mi Gleann Einich an fhéidh,
Far am biodh an spréidh air eadradh.

XIX.

The "eich reangach" alluded to here were the Scots Greys:—

Latha dhomh air cabhsair Shasuinn,
Faicinn fasan nan each reangach,
B' fhearr bhi air mullach na h-eileiraig,
Fos cinn coille Ràt-a'-mhurchais.

XX.

I take it that the bard is here complaining of the changes wrought in the country under the operations of the York Building Company:—

Sud an gleannan rioghail fallain,
Anns am fanadh làn-damh;
Mo mhollachd do na phannal,
Chuir thairis do bhàrraid.
'N àit an cronan anns an doire,
Gu farumach mar b' àbhaist,
'S e 's beus dhuinn nis anns gach badan,
Slachdarnais Ghallda.

XXI.

These lines evince the same hatred of the English employees of the Company—and of their tongue. They make sarcastic allusion to some conflagration which had broken out and discomfited the unwelcome despoilers of the Abernethy woods:—

Soraidh slan do 'n t-searsonach,
Chuir teas ri Cul-na-coille,
'S dh' fhuadaich mach na Sasunnaich
A dh-iarraidh 'n leasach' bheurla;

A dh' fhuadaich mach na Sasunnaich
Thar mullach Tom-nam-broilleag,
'S a dh-innis dhaibh nam pilleadh iad,
Gum milleadh anns an staing iad.

Tempora mutantur! English is now the prevailing language in Badenoch and Strathspey, and the next generation can learn little of the ancient lore and poetry of the country, except through the medium of literature.

24th MARCH, 1898.

At the meeting this evening Mr A. Macbain, M.A., read a paper by Mr J. L. Robertson, H.M.I.S., entitled "Ossianic Heroic Poetry." The paper, a spirited and interesting translation of Dr Ludwig Chr. Stern's (Berlin) "Die Ossianischen Heldenlieder," an exhaustive and valuable work on the subject, was as follows:—

OSSIANIC HEROIC POETRY.

A hundred and thirty years have gone by since the name "Ossian" reached us here. The credit of having made the world acquainted with the poetry of the son of Fingal belongs wholly to James Macpherson, a young divinity student from the Scottish Highlands, who, in Edinburgh, in 1760, under the patronage of the celebrated literary critic Hugh Blair, published two poems, then fifteen, and in the second edition sixteen "Fragments," translated from the Gaelic or Erse into English—all of which were regarded as precious gems of lyric-epic poetry. The task of collecting more of this material, either from manuscripts or from the oral recitation of the Celtic inhabitants of the Scottish mountains and the Western Islands, and of translating this material from the little-known language in which they were embodied, was offered to many, but the accomplished young man completely gratified this honourable desire, for in 1762 he startled everyone with the publication of a regular epic "Fingal," and in 1763 of an exactly similar work, "Temora"—both, as well as a number of supplementary minor poetical pieces, being avowedly the composition of Ossian, the son of Fingal, a King of Morven, in ancient Scotland, in the third century, and being faithfully translated from the Gaelic version. Indeed, there was appended to the last named volume a sample of the original text, the seventh book of "Temora," for the purpose of appeasing the doubts of inquisitive critics.

The stir that the "Poems of Ossian" made throughout Europe is too well known. No one suspected for a moment the existence of such an ancient and emotional body of poetry in that remote corner of the earth. The melancholy, "the joy of grief," which suffuses these poems accorded so well with the sentimental phase of intellectual activity which was predominant about the middle of the last century, while the quaintness of the poetical prose, its

flowing style, so laconic, and yet so consonant with the English language, operated as a charm upon many. Far off the harp of the Celtic Homer entranced the souls of men, and kept them long captive in a sweet captivity.

"But why art thou sad, song of Fingal?
Why grows the cloud of thy soul?
The chiefs of other times have departed;
They have gone without * their fame—
The sons of future years shall pass by,
And another race shall arise.
The people are like the waves of the ocean:
Like the leaves of woody Morven—
They pass away in the rustling blast,
And other leaves lift their green heads.
Did thy beauty last, O Ryno?
Stood the strength of carborne Oscar?
Fingal himself passed away,
And the halls of his fathers forgot his steps;
And shall thou remain, aged bard,
When the mighty have failed?
But my fame shall remain,
And grow like the oak of Morven,
Which lifts its head to the storm,
And rejoices in the course of the storm." [1]

But there was no lack of critics, who refused to give any unqualified acceptance to the Ossianic poetry. A sombre melancholy is the too dominant and favourite mood of the poems: a gloomy, mournful sky overhangs the desolate, though powerfully-drawn, landscape, and such is the prevailing monotony in the representations of nature which the "Cloud Poet" unfolds that they find a not inapt parallel in the changing scenes of a kaleidoscope or in the artificial patterns of a mosaic. While the poems of Ossian attempt to discard the impossible and the trivial, in which the imagination of folk-poetry delights, they yet introduce a sentimentality and magnificence still less appropriate to the legendary story of the heroic time. All through the invention is poor, the execution vague: a certain youthful immaturity is perceptible, and the lack of variety and of due attention to details betray the inexperience of the composer. The figures of speech,

* Dr Steyn has here *with* instead of without.—TRANS.

[1] Cf. Herder's Werke 16. 327, from "Berrathon."

daring as they are, sometimes will not stand the test of close examination. An odd and incongruous use of words is very common, and the general diction frequently descends from the affected characteristic grandiose level to the ridiculous.[2] Moreover, echoes of Homer, Milton, the Hebrew Prophets, and other poets abound—a fact to which Macpherson himself naively enough called attention, and which the incisive critical writings of the learned Malcolm Laing (1762-1819) have more emphatically and fully elucidated. The complete puerility of the Ossianic poesy had been characterised by Voltaire in 1770 in his scoffing remark that to compose Virgil was difficult, Ossian easy.[3]

But there was another count in the indictment against the Ossianic poems. Their real basis is the preposterous theory that the Celtic Highlanders of Scotland are the descendants of the ancient Caledonians, whom the Romans, under Caracalla, are said to have subdued in 208 A.D. This erroneous hypothesis David Malcolm—"the great author MacComb,"[4] to whom Alexander Macdonald in his beautiful verses in praise of the Gaelic language appeals—stoutly championed, and thereby flattered not a little the patriotic feeling of his countrymen. According to Macpherson, Fingal was King of an ancient legendary Morven, in the county of Argyll, in Scotland—though such a kingdom is absolutely unknown to other traditional accounts, especially to those of Ireland, the motherland of the Scottish Gaels, and the chief seat of the Celtic race to the present day. Of this race, which, starting once on a time from its original Indo-Germanic home, penetrated farthest westwards of all, two branches, besides the Gauls in ancient France, have survived the centuries, viz., the Cymri in Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany (to whom probably the extinct people, the Picts, belonged), distinguished by Professor Rhys from a speciality of their dialect the "P-Celts," and the Gaels or Scots, the "Q-Celts," who took possession of Ireland and the Western Islands. Beda, it may be remarked, in his "Ecclesiastical History," chronicles the tradition that the Irish tribe from Ulster, the "Dalreudini" or "Dáil-Riada," emigrated about 500 A.D. to Argyle, north of the Firth of Clyde, and thus the Gaelic or Scottish nation was transplanted to Caledonia. To

[2] E.g., "Thou dweller of battle" or "dweller of my thoughts" ("Temora," p. 143); also "a white-bosomed dweller between my arms" p. 120. In 1785 the style of "Ossian" was grotesquely parodied in the "Edinburgh Magazine."

[3] Oeuvres Complètes, edition Garnier Frères, 17, 236. Also, W. Shaw (Inquiry 1781, p. 58) derides the mechanical in the Ossianic poetical method.

[4] "'S réir Mhic-Comb, An t-ughdair mòr ri luaidh" (Alex. Macdonald).

this country they gave not only the name of Scotland, but also sixty kings, from Fergus, the son of Erc, to Alexander III., 1286 A.D. In Ireland, however, the civilisation of the Scots attained a marked development, and from early days this influence operated effectively in its transference to the Gaelic-speaking countries—that is, the Isle of Man, West of Scotland (Alba), and the Hebrides (Innse Gall, "the Isles of the Strangers," to wit, the Norwegians). The Gaelic language, nowadays generally called simply "Gaelic," is, as the Manx is, merely a dialect of the Irish tongue, and is accordingly named in English "Erse." [5] In modern times these dialects have widely differentiated, but their early literature is one and the same, and the ancient mythical tales have, for the most part, had their origin in the motherland. Fingal is a well-known heroic figure in this joint legendary lore, but he goes by the name of Finn or Fionn, and is Commander-in-Chief of the martial clan the Feinne or Fenians, under Cormac, the Overlord of Ireland in the middle of the third century. Oschin, Oscar, and Goll are certainly in the Irish saga members of this warrior band; but Cuchullin, to whom, according to Macpherson, Finn lends assistance, lived about the beginning of the Christian era, in the time of King Conchobar of Ulster. Again, Deirdri, the wife of the last-named, becomes in the poems of "Ossian," who calls her Darthula, a contemporary of Fingal, and is slain by the jealous Cairbre, and HE was a successor of Cormac! So goes on the endless distortion of the story. [6] It fares equally badly with geography in the poems of "Ossian;" sounding names without any significance are all that Macpherson gives, and his practice is to shift the scene of the action almost always to Scotland. This kind of treatment might be looked for in later poems that have lost the thread of the original tradition, but not so in such venerable relics of antiquity as the "Poems of Ossian" professedly were. Despite these objections, Macpherson gave out that he collected the "Poems" in the vernacular Gaelic—if and how far out of manuscript was never made clear—and that he translated them, indeed, word for word; and he time and again remarked how strikingly expressive the original is in this or that

[5] Mentioned by William Dunbar, circa. 1500, as "erische," 2, 41; "ersche," 1, 53; and "erschry," 2, 69 (equals "Irishry." As the Irish language is also called Gaelic, I now and then use "Albanogaelic" for the special Scottish dialect.

[6] Cf. D'Arbois de Iubainville, "La litterature ancienne de l'Irlande et l'Ossian de Macpherson," in the "Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Charles XLI.," p. 475-87.

passage (e.g., Temora, p. 92—Gaelic 5, 307 ff.), or that a certain passage had been set to music, and that few could listen to it without tears (e.g., Cath-Loda I., 108 ff.). In his introductory and explanatory comments he continually extols the high antiquity and excellence of his "Poems of Ossian," as compared with the trashy and nonsensical popular poetry which in Ireland affected the name of Ossian; and he, a man who in the Library at Oxford could not make out one single line of a Gaelic manuscript only a few centuries old, treats contemptuously the learned Roderick O'Flaherty and Dr Geoffray Keating, the Livy of the Irish nation. Such was the unparalleled audacity with which he single-handed challenged the whole array of Old Irish scholarship.

Now it is not surprising that the modest doubt which at first had been expressed here and there as to the authenticity of the "Poems of Ossian" soon took the form of rough denial, and that the temperate reserve adopted by many subsequently gave place to violent incrimination. David Hume, in 1763, had called for a strict investigation. An Irishman, probably the Abbot Connery, in the "Journal des Sçavants," fully and strongly questioned the genuineness. The erudite Charles O'Connor of Belanagare criticised the poems in 1766 very bitterly, and Samuel Johnson, the lexicographer, in 1775 denied them any authenticity whatever, and maintained that Macpherson had merely abstracted names, incidents, and individual passages from Gaelic popular lays and amalgamated these with poetry of his own composition in order to pass off the whole product as the work of "Ossian." Though openly accused of imposition, Macpherson—who, as testified by Hume, a man of keen insight into human nature, was a strange and hereroclite mortal, than whom he scarce ever knew a man more perverse and unamiable—increased by his behaviour the exasperation of his opponents, and did nothing at all to provide the information so urgently requested.

His countrymen took up the question, as they regarded their own honour as mixed up therewith, and vied in demonstrating the authenticity of the "Poems of Ossian"—a task that certainly was more the duty of their author than of others.[7] They asserted

[7] Among the champions of "Ossian" may here be named: H. Blair, 1763; M. Cesarotti, 1763; J. Woodrow, 1771; J. G. Sulzer, 1771; Whitaker, 1773; Th. Warton, 1774; H. Home, Lord Kaimes, 1775; W. Shaw, 1778; D. Macnicol, 1779; M. Dorat, 1780; J. Smith, 1780; J. Clark, 1782; J. L. Buchanan, 1793-94; L. W. Flügge, 1796; Alex. Campbell, 1797; C. H. Schundenius, 1799; J. Macdonald, 1802; J. Gurlitt, 1802; Mrs Grant. Laggan, 1803; Arch. Macdonald, 1805; P. Graham, 1807; Sir John Sinclair, 1807; J. Grant, 1814; E. Maclachlan, 1818; H. and J. MacCallum, 1816;

that Fingal and the Feinne had for centuries been familiar names in Scotland, and that heroic poems like those published by Macpherson had been preserved among them from time immemorial by oral transmission from father to son. But these laboured and solemn declarations never went beyond generalities, and instead of furnishing clear philological proofs as to how the matter stood, the disputants exhausted themselves in a resultless war of words. Nobody could point out a single folk-poem that verbally coincided with one of those "verbally translated" by Macpherson. It is true that not infrequently lost manuscripts, sometimes in folio and sometimes in quarto, were spoken of, which someone years before had seen in the hands of this or that person, and which were alleged—to the best of recollection—to contain Ossianic poems; but if such a trail were followed up it turned out that these inestimable documents had recently been used to kindle the fire or cut up to make tailors' measuring tapes. A tolerably impartial but rather inconclusive report which Henry Mackenzie, in the "Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the nature and authenticity of the Poems of Ossian," made on the ground of the rich matter of the poems in 1805 to the Highland Society of Scotland in Edinburgh, failed to establish more than a slight general relation between the "Poems of Ossian" and the written or orally preserved heroic poetry. Nor was he able to silence the adversaries. [8]

At the present day it is difficult to understand how men could have wrangled so interminably over such a question as the

Alex. Macdonald, 1820; H. Campbell, 1822; J. Lyon, 1831; J. Reid, 1832; P. Macgregor, 1841; Clemen, 1854; Oswald, 1857; Thos. Maclauchlan, 1857; P. Macnaughton, 1861; D. Campbell, 1862; J. F. Campbell, 1862; W. F. Skene, 1862; E. Waag, 1863; Th. Pattison, 1866; Arch. M'Neil, 1868; A. Ebrard, 1868-70; Arch. Clerk, 1870; P. H. Waddell, 1875; J. St. Blackie, 1876; C. S. Jerram, 1876; D. Mackinnon, 1877; Shairp, 1880; Ch. Stewart, 1884; Alex. Macbain, 1884. The many translators of "Ossian" who seem by this to be convinced of its genuineness I have not mentioned in the above list.

[8] Doubt in the genuineness of the "Poems of Ossian" is met with in 1762 in the "Journal of Scavants," Nov., p. 724 ff.; then follow in the same line the critic of 1764 and F. Warner, Ch. O'Conor, 1766-75; S. Johnson, 1775 i Sir James Foulis, W. Shaw, 1781-84; M. Laing, 1800-1805; Th. O'Flanagan, 1808; Fink, 1811; Ch. O'Conor, d. J., 1814; Edw. Davies, 1825; W. H. Drummond, 1831; Edw. O'Reilly, 1831; Talvj (Therese Ad. L. v. Jacob), 1840; O. Connellan, 1860; E. O'Curry, 1862; the "Times," 1869; W. M. Hennessy, 1871; J. F. Campbell, 1872; St. H. O'Grady, 1880; Alex. Macbain, 1886 87; H. Maclean, 1887; Professor Mackinnon, 1890; Alf. Nutt, 1890; H. D'Arbois de Jabainville, 1892. Here, as in the foregoing note, only the most important names are given, for a complete Ossianic bibliography would of itself fill a volume.

Ossianic. Yet it is manifest that it could not be settled on general literary considerations alone, but that a knowledge of the Irish-Gaelic language and poetry had to be a necessary equipment of a competent critic. The real point at issue was more the form than the matter, and it was indispensably necessary to examine and test the Gaelic originals of the Macpherson poems. Their apochryphal character could not be convincingly established from the Gaelic version of the Book VII. of "Temora," which is the literal counterpart of the English version, however much the language of this piece must have puzzled philologists, for there was but a meagre supply of printed "Albanogaelic" literature in the middle of last century; [9] and who, then, without a knowledge at least of the general history of the Gaelic language—material that was unobtainable even from the work of the very estimable Ed. Llwyd—and without a grammar or dictionary of the Scottish Gaelic, could have argued that a dialect like that of the "Poems" could not possibly have existed in the earlier centuries? [10] It is true that the secrecy and obscurity in which Macpherson invested the Gaelic "originals" were calculated to shake the confidence of his most unbiassed and friendly critics. [11] Under various pretexts he had withheld from the public these eagerly sought for linguistic monuments, though he alleged that he had once placed them on view in a bookseller's shop for a period of six weeks. It is beyond doubt, however, that no one ever honoured them with

[9] The first fifty Psalms, translated by the Synod of Argyll, were published in Glasgow in 1659. This is the first book printed in Scottish Gaelic, and it is noteworthy that its Irish colouring is marked.

[10] Alex Stewart, the grammarian of the "Albanogaelic" (1801), actually holds that the modern dialect is older than the ancient Irish, v. "Elements of Gaelic Grammar," p. 88.

[11] In the "Gentleman's Magazine," XXX. (1760), p. 409, in reference to the "Fragments," occurred the following:—"As the original Erse is intended to be printed with some future edition of them, it will irrefragably prove their authenticity, which might otherwise be reasonably doubted. And in January, 1761, Macpherson writes to Maclagan that a Gaelic epic on Fingal has come into his hands—"I have some thoughts," he says, "of publishing the original, if it will not clog the work too much" (Report, app., p. 155). Before the first edition of Fingal in 1762, he likewise remarks—"There is a design on foot to print the originals as soon as the translator shall have time to transcribe them for the press; and if this publication shall not take place, copies will then be deposited in one of the public libraries, to prevent so ancient a monument of genius from being lost." In 1763 a Gaelic specimen of the seventh Book of "Temora" appeared, with the declaration that further proofs were unnecessary, as the originals had long enough lain open to inspection. Macpherson's first intention was to print the Gaelic text in Greek character.

an inspection. And that they were not exceptionable may be inferred from his intimation to a company who patriotically offered to bear the expense of publication that he had first of all to arrange the manuscripts. His death took place in 1796. He left behind him a manuscript, along with the means of putting it in type; but we are quite ignorant of its nature, for the publishers whom he nominated had it revised and transcribed by Th. Ross, and, instead of depositing it in some public library, they straightway destroyed it. Rob. Macfarlane turned it into Latin. So years went by, until at last, in 1807, the Gaelic poems of "Ossian" saw the light—forty-four years after the English version. This famous edition of the original texts contained about two-thirds of the English, and the eleven poems out of the twenty-two English for which no original was forthcoming may without scruple be ignored in the controversy as to the authenticity. But the Gaelic "originals," with their abounding inherent inconsistencies, fail utterly to exculpate their English "translator;" on the contrary, they entirely confirm the judgment of his most celebrated critics. Doubt, in fact, gives place to certainty.

It is, in the next place, of great importance to the story of the genesis of the Gaelic originals to take notice of some fragments thereof which appeared earlier. The first of which we know is a piece from "Fingal" (3, 302-403, 497-514 of the later issue), attributed to the Rev. Mr Maciver, Lochalsh (ob. 1790). It was first published in 1814 by J. Grant in his "Origin and Descent of the Gael" (p. 423, et seq.), and it shows an entire divergence from the "original" of 1807. The episode is an incomplete outline of the corresponding passage in Macpherson's "Fingal" of 1762, and must be relegated to the year 1760 or 1761, as the "Garbh" of this fragment was named "Swaran" by Macpherson in 1762, and besides "Fionn," the form "Fionnghael," i.e., Fingal, appears. Probably Maciver was a friend and coadjutor of Macpherson's.

The second Gaelic original fragment was from the pen of Lauchlan Macpherson of Strathmashie (ob. 1767), a mediocre Gaelic poet. This specimen, describing the combat between Goll and Swaran, in "Fingal," 4, 259-76, some thoughtless friend communicated in 1799 to the Highland Society (Report, p. 32), for not a line of its text, the genuineness of which had already been disputed by Edward O'Reilly (Essay, p. 245)—Swaran and the Heath of Gormal being (James) Macpherson's—squares with the Gaelic "Ossian" of 1807. Macpherson, Strathmashie, was, it is

likely, also the author of that other Gaelic piece, which, after being communicated to A. Gallie, was printed in the Report (p. 143)—

"A mhacain cheann
Nan cursan srann
Ard-leumnach righ nan sleagh,"

&c.[12] This poem is pretty literally rendered by Macpherson in "Fingal" (p. 56, ed. 1762 or 4, 299-310) as the "Battle Song of Ullin"—"Son of the chief of generous steeds! high-bounding king of spears!" &c., and words like "Làmh threun 's gach càs" seem to be translated quite literally and with hardly any variation direct from the English. Don. Campbell, in his "Treatise on the Language, Poetry, and Music of the Highland Clans" (Edinburgh, 1862, p. 122), gives a very loose version professedly based on an orally transmitted version, but it is not more reliable than the English translation in the Gaelic "Ossian" of 1807, which likewise, indeed, contains reminiscences of the actual original of the Report, though it otherwise is thoroughly in dis-accord therewith. This poem is in no sense ancient, for both the metre and even individual phrases are borrowed from the dirge on Rob Roy Macgregor—

"Sàr mharcach nach fann
Air cursain nan srann
Srein mhaiseach na'n ceann b' e 't' aidhear e"

(Stewart's Collection, p. 301; Menzies' "Comh-chruinneacha," p. 256). According to an unsupported story, Macpherson, Strathmashie, was also the translator of the Gaelic version of the seventh book of "Temora" of 1763, but it need only be remarked that he at one time testified prominently to the authenticity of the Macpherson "Ossian," and that, to quote his own words, he found it rendered with astonishing fidelity.

The third attempt to bring the Gaelic "Ossian" before the public was the "Dream of Malvina," a translation after the editio princeps of no special merit of the prologue of "Croma," published by W. Shaw in 1778, who at that time believed in the authenticity, in his "Analysis of the Gaelic Language," p. 157. This piece was afterwards greatly amended and altered, especially in the "Ossian" of 1807, where Toscar, a manufactured name previously avoided, takes the place of Oscar.

[12] Cf., Armstrong's Dictionary, p. lxvii.; Logan in Mackenzie's "Beauties of Gaelic Poetry," p. lii.; L. Maclean, "Songs of the Gael," No. 16.

The fourth attempt was Gillies's publication (Cb. 157a, and in the Report app. p. 225) of Fingal's address to Oscar in "Fingal" 3, 246 et seq. This text differs word for word from that of 1807, and so also a piece "Advice to Oscar," of which, probably, D. Kennedy was the composer. But an older rendering of this fragment, along with the story of Faineasollis following thereon, turned up in Macpherson's posthumous papers, and was printed in the Society's edition of 1807 in the supplement 3, 486—a fact that escaped the notice of the later editors of the Gaelic "Ossian," E. Maclachlan, Thos. Maclauchlan, and Arch. Clerk. Gillies's and Kennedy's texts, both texts in the edition—all disagree!

The fifth attempt is the short Hymn to the Sun in "Carricthura," found first in an imperfectly assonated form in Irvine's Collection in 1801, and published for the first time in Alex. and D. Stewart's "Collection of the Highland Bards," p. 592. It does not differ much in the various texts, including that of 1807. But the fact that the sun, which in Gaelic, as in German, is of the feminine gender, is here addressed as "son of the sky," is of itself a serious obstacle to the recognition of this Gaelic text as a genuine original. Hymns to the sun, the moon, and the stars have no existence whatever in Gaelic literature outside Macpherson's own handiwork.

The sixth attempt is the longer Hymn to the Sun in "Carthon," 334 et seq., which did not appear in print before the Stewarts in 1804, and is wanting in the "Ossian" of 1807; although, however, Macpherson himself in 1771, in his work "Introduction to the History of Great Britain," p. 160, cites in an absurd derivation of the word 'grian' (sun) the original of the hymn—a text, it should be noted, quite different from that of the later translation of 1804.

The last effort before the final publication of the edition of 1807 to circulate the original of "Ossian" is the poem "Conlath and Cuthona" of Irvine's Collection, about 1801, and printed with some emendations by the Stewarts in 1804. The diction is very clumsy, and like that of the revised English version of 1773; while in the Gaelic edition of 1807 the improving hand of Ross is easily detected. A rhymed metrical rendering of this poem appears in the "Celtic Magazine" II., 336 et seq., the contributor remarking that either the Gaelic thereof is older than the English, or that Macpherson was the most incarnate impostor and the most shameless and deliberate liar who ever handled a pen.

There was also published by the Stewarts in 1804 a polished versified translation of the Macpherson "Darthula," but this

poem is not one of those whose originals came to light in 1807.[13] The piece was also turned into Gaelic by the scholarly Donald Macpherson, whose beautiful Gaelic translation of the "Songs of Selma"—which, it may be noted, are likewise wanting in the originals of 1807—came out in the "Gaidheal" (5, 81 et seq.) in 1876.

This edition (of 1807), issued in name of the Highland Society in all good faith under the direction of Sir John Sinclair, is only the full completion of the task begun in 1760, and so perseveringly continued thereafter. Every linguistic scholar is now quite aware that suchlike epics and emotional poetry are not to be found elsewhere in ancient, mediæval, or modern Gaelic, although minor poems on the Ossianic mythical tales are to be met with in manuscripts and partly in the form of oral recitation not only in Ireland, but also in mainland Scotland and the Western Islands. Macpherson was well acquainted with this class of poetry, and made literal translations of detached passages, but it was ill his part to disown these as the sources of his own inspirations, and extremely rash of him to ridicule as trivial the similar Irish folk-ballads, and to characterise them as quite different from his own "Ossian." If one solitary line be excepted, not one stanza in the Gaelic "Ossian" of 1807, as John Francis Campbell demonstrated in 1872, harmonises with the text of the ballads, and this is the case even in the literal translations from the Gaelic into English. For instance, in the ballad on the death of Oscar, when Fingal cries out over the body of his grandson, "Gu la brath chan eirich Oscar!" Macpherson renders this in his "Temora" "But never more shall Oscar rise!" Yet in the Gaelic "Ossian" of 1807 ("Temora" 1, 297) we read, "Chan eirich Oscar donn a chaoidh!" —a reproduction certainly of the thought, but not of the words of the ballad. Similarly in numberless other cases, which it would

[13] In the poem of the Brothers Stewart (Collection, p. 562 et seq.), reprinted and re-translated by Alex. Carmichael in the "Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness," XV., 206-15, the ballad of Derdri is worked up into one with the Darthula of Macpherson, more than one-half being directly transferred from the latter. Strophe, 3 c. 6, corresponds with Macpherson's "Nathos is on the Deep" to "Who is it but Darthula, the First of Erin's Maids?" (p. 156, first edition, 1762)—further, Str. 11-20 resembles his "But the winds deceive thee, O Darthula!" to "The winds have deceived thy sails" (p. 157 et seq.); finally, Strophe 29-65, embodying the long tale of a fabulous father of Darthula, by name Colla, recalls Macpherson's "These are not the rocks of Nathos" to the words "His soul may come to Usnoth, and sadden his soul in the hall" (p. 158-164). That the Gaelic is not any original text may be inferred from the circumstance that it was quite unknown prior to the Stewarts, and that it cannot be traced elsewhere.

be a mere waste of time to exhaustively collect. So foreign is this Gaelic "Ossian" to the native popular ballads that all the efforts made to circulate and popularise it among the Scottish Highlands were quite unsuccessful, though a large edition was gratuitously distributed in 1818, and a cheap pocket edition appeared in 1857. From this we must conclude that in the Highlands and Islands the "Ossian" of Macpherson was quite unknown, and all the while the common people of these districts preserve with touching fervour the cherished old material of the genuine "Ossianic" folk-poetry. A more minute study of the text of the Gaelic "Ossian" leaves not the least room for doubt that it was translated from the English original, and the Gaelic of 1807, like the earlier attempts in the same line, was merely designed to blind the world to the actual truth that the "Poems of Ossian" were fabricated by Macpherson's own hand. With this forgery of the "originals" the monstrous imposture was complete, and no palliation of the contemptible deed or extenuation of the mendacious verbosity with which it was perpetrated are now any longer permissible.

The exact procedure in the preparation of the Gaelic "Ossian' is, of course, not known, but we have the evidence of Captain Alex. Morrison that Macpherson had associates in this work, and with some of them we are already familiar. He himself had, it may be admitted, some acquaintance with the colloquial language, but otherwise his knowledge of Gaelic was very meagre, and for him it must have been an exceedingly wearisome task to reproduce, in a language of which he had not the command, the voluminous poems of his youthful days. He took decades to do it. In the Gaelic "Ossian" nothing is more surprising than the literalness and the want of form of the rendering, and, besides, its style is unequal—the result of its having been produced intermittently, and generally, it may be surmised, a very long time after the issue of the English originals. To illustrate this, Macpherson quite forgot that the passage in "Temora" 8, 383-85, had already, in 1763, been communicated by him out of the "original" in a note ("Temora," p. 150), but entirely different from the text of 1807; and in the same "Temora" (p. 12 editio princeps) he wrote a philological reference to a word ('hundreds') which cannot at be found in the Gaelic of 1807 "Temora" 1, 240). The same thing happens in the case of the phrase 'restless wanderer' ("Carthon," p. 130), which, according to a note in the original, is said to have its counterpart in 'scuta,' but we look in vain for such a word in the Gaelic of 1807 ("Carthon," 111). It is,

therefore, demonstrable that the Gaelic was translated for the most part from the revised English edition of 1773, as witness, for instance, Carricthura, Conlath, Temora (cf. 1, 46, 155, 173, 461), &c. Moreover the language of the texts is not of uniform quality, and particularly the seventh book of "Temora," which dates from 1763, is, though it is no masterpiece, markedly superior to all the other parts of the translation.

The publication of such an extensive body of text in a language whose literature was as yet so little known must of itself be regarded as a most useful contribution; but, unfortunately, it is not an authoritative linguistic source, and it is deplorable that the Albanogaelic lexicographers have taken a large part of their material from this faulty and un-Gaelic "Ossian." This jargon, which deviates so strangely from all real Gaelic, and which is unintelligible to a Highlander, is actually named by one grammarian the Ossianic or pure Gaelic, while in Germany it was honoured with a learned description as 'Middle Gaelic' ('Mittel-gälisch'), and even in 1876 Professor Blackie broke a lance in its defence. Yet the very language alone of this Gaelic "Ossian" gives an ample basis for the charge of spuriousness: the text is throughout conspicuously wanting in those idiomatic turns in which Gaelic abounds, and it bristles with Anglicisms, which a Highlander can fall into only when he has half forgotten his native tongue. Further, the intrinsic dissimilarity of the two languages does not stand such a close literal rendering as is here professed. What, for example, can one make of the expression 'gorm astar nan speur' (Carricthura 1) as 'thy blue course in heaven?' Only too often is the English translated word for word, and therefore Arch. Clark, the last re-translator of the Gaelic "Ossian"—his predecessor in this line being Chr. W. Ahlwardt—complains unceasingly in his pretentious, though really mediocre, edition, of the obscurity of the phraseology. Donald Campbell, in his Treatise (p. 71 et seq.), has thoroughly amended almost an entire poem in order to give it a passable appearance; and Hector Maclean vigorously denounces the Ossianic disfigurement of his mother tongue. A few years ago Alex. Macbain, in the "Celtic Magazine" 12, 249 et seq., discusses this subject with philological acumen.

It is further noteworthy that this "Ossian" abounds in the most vulgar and corrupt forms of colloquial Gaelic. One reads 'na bàirdan' (Temora 1, 456-649) instead of 'na bàird,' 'measg nam mnà' (Fingal 1, 211) instead of the correct 'nam ban,' 'nan eacha srann' (Temora 3, 120), 'cù' as genitive sing. (6, 296), not

only 'chunna mis'' (1, 96), but even chunnam' (Fingal 3, 428, Carricthura 69), and 'chualam' (Carricthura 168, Croma 7), with many other blemishes of the same kind. Besides, the singular absence of the most indispensable particles, such as the article, the pronoun, and others, makes the diction extremely rugged. Prepositions are wrongly used, as when 'do' is written where the sense requires 'go' ('to'), and the 'go' of the adverb is more frequently absent than present. 'An lann o Luno'—'the sword of Luno'—(Temora 6, 2), justifies the belief that Luno is a locality[14]: 'air cheud' (Carthon 76) is in the English 'at first,' but is not Gaelic therefor; 'air uair' (Cathloda 1, 161, etc.), which is to represent 'sometimes,' is, like the phrase 'air àm' (Temora 8, 20), falsely used for 'air uairibh' (Temora 3, 297); and so on. The descriptive genitive, one of the beauties of Gaelic style, e.g.—'Diarmaid an àigh," Dermid of the fray; 'Donnachadh nan òran,' Duncan of the songs; 'Glascho nan sraidean,' Glasgow of the many streets; 'Osgar nan geur lann,' Oscar of the keen swords—is so misused that it becomes unbearable, and is frequently quite incomprehensible. Again we come across 'ciochan nam beus' (Golnadona 10), or 'broilleach nam beus' (ib. 145), 'the breast of the (good) morals,' instead of 'the chaste bosom.' Continually all the rules of syntax are violated, while inversions are as common as if the language recognised no rules at all for the order of the words in a sentence: between the verb and its nominative an adverbial or even an accusative is interpolated, and the genitive is persistently separated from its regimen by intervening clauses! The adjective stands before when it should follow its noun, and vice versa—for instance, 'fuil shàr' (Golnadona 149) for 'sàr-fhuil' (ib. 6), 'òg Oscar' (Temora 1, 327), 'borb Starn' (Fingal 3, 117), 'gorm-shùileach òg' (Temora 8, 75), 'nam ban-bhroilleach òigh' (7, 322), 'nan gorm-chruaidh laoch' (Carricthura 34), 'nan cruadalach ghniomh' (Carthon 43), and similar cases by the hundred and thousand.

But from the point of view of lexicography we cannot arrive at a more satisfactory verdict on this Ossianic Gaelic. How very odd it is that the little word 'agus' (and), which, or in the form 'is,' one meets almost in every line of a normal Gaelic text, appears here (except in Temora 7, 164, 233, 283, 400) only a very few times (Carricthura 4 in the Hymn, Carthon 60, Fingal 5, 44), and

[14] For the proper "Mac an Luinn," the son of Lon, that is, Fingal's sword (Temora VI., 254, Carricthura 298), there stands once "lann Luinne" (VIII., 506), and once we find the nonsense, "e 'tarruing garbh Luno nan lann" (III., 8).

that 'atà,' for the abbreviated 'ta,' or generally 'tha,' occurs only in Temora 7, 28! Nouns are used as adjectives, or verbs and adjectives as nouns, and for this reason words recur ad nauseam, especially the nouns 'feum,' 'cruach,' 'cam,' 'ceò,' 'cruaidh,' the adjectives 'ciar,' 'faon,' the verbs 'iadh,' 'taom,' 'aom,' and, like the last named, in significations which are absolutely unwarranted, and which can be divined only from the English version. Who could guess the meaning of the gibberish, 'Mhosgail osna nam beus o 'ùrla' (Croma, 151), unless the English original, 'His sigh arose,' gave the clue, and the phrase, 'Osna o urlar mo chleibh,' which is found elsewhere, still further cleared up the mystery? The word 'trian,' a third, is also strangely used, often as more or less the equivalent of 'something,' 'somewhat';[15] the favourite expression, 'gu cùl,' in the meaning 'entirely';[16] 'o aois' (Carricthura, 32), instead of the elsewhere so favoured phrase, 'o shean,' 'of old';[17] and many other instances. Hennessy, in the "Academy," 1871, p. 390, has emphasised the richness of the Gaelic "Ossian" in English loan-words—they only prove, however, the modernness of the language employed.

The Gaelic translation is, as we have observed, not uniform, and it is not self-consistent. To take just one example—The Macpherson 'joy of grief,' as often as it occurs (Fingal 1, 568—5, 440; Temora 7, 404; Carricthura, 35; Croma, 50), is almost always differently rendered. The whole work, indeed, lacks symmetry and careful execution.

Further, should those lines, numbered as verse, in the Gaelic "Ossian," which here and there show terminal rhymes, have a poetical form, then this form, as given, would be open to censure, in respect of the exscution and euphony which characterise all other Gaelic poetry, even that of the eighteenth century. There is no fixed number of syllables, no alliteration, no assonance, and no rhyme![18] The prevailing feature of those more than 10,000

[15] Conlath 91. Comala 230, Calthon 119, 273, Temora I, 254, 718—2, 399—3, 74, 101, 350, 460, 480—4, 127, 428—5, 158, 289, 334, 348—6, 115, 138, 155, 310—8, 52, 76, 284. 413, 489, 494—*but not in Temora 7!*

[16] Cathloda 3. 83, Carricthura 136, Calthon 206, Fingal 3, 154, Temora 8, 203, 302, 414 533. Alex. Macdonald uses the phrase in another sense—*Ailleagan glan ur, A dhallas ruisg gu'n Cùl* (Ed. 1874, p. 9).

[17] Fingal 1, 517, 577—3, 314—6, 59; Temora 2, 376, 437—5, 79; Cathloda 1, 252, 262—3, 51, 190. The Anglicism is found, however, elsewhere, *e.g.*, in William Ross—*'S labhair an t-ursgeal o shean.*

[18] The very worthy H. Ebel had evidently been deluded on this subject when he gravely discusses in the second edition of the Grammatica Celtica of Caspar Zeuss, p. 956 et seq., the versification of the Gaelic "Ossian."

'verses' is a turgid and meaningless phraseology. Some of the pieces have apparently been subjected to a more thorough revisal, and, speaking generally, it may be admitted that here and there one meets beautiful passages, and among hundreds of wretched verses some that are beyond complaint—but "apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto."

The thoughtless recklessness with which the Gaelic "Ossian" is rendered with slavish literalness from the English is in the matter of personal names still more apparent even to the ordinary reader. These appear throughout in a form which corresponds with the English modelled according to the pronunciation, but it does not correspond with the true Gaelic form found in the popular ballads and elsewhere. The name Fingal—that is, 'Fionn Gaidheal,' 'Finn of the Gaels'—by which the hero since ancient times has been known among the Lowland Scots, but by which he is extremely rarely definitely designated by the Gaelic-speaking population, is in 1807 straightway changed to 'Fionghal,' and later, indeed, to 'Fionngheal,' though in 1763 (Temora, p. 229) Macpherson had more correctly written it 'Fionnghael.'[19] The ancient form Fionn (Middle-Irish, Finn) is of very rare occurrence in the Gaelic "Ossian" (Comala, 134, 137; Fingal 3, 335), Goll, the strongest hero among the Fèinne, becomes in the English version 'Gaul,' and thereafter in the "Ossian" of 1807, 'Gall'; the hero Faolan, written according to pronunciation 'Fillan' in the English "Ossian," becomes 'Fillean' in the Gaelic, being correctly given as 'Faolan' only in "Temora" 7, 20. Iollan appears as 'Ullin'; Dèarg (Dargo) as 'Deargo' (Calthon, 174); clann Uisneach (the sons of Usnoth) as clann Usnoth (Temora 1, 567); and Hidallan in the English, transmuted in to 'Hideallan' in the Gaelic, is probably the form Sithallan (Cb. 58a), which

[19] The form *Fionn ghael* (also Stewart, Collection, p. 555), is incorrect, inasmuch as the opposition (*gaël* or *gaidheal*) should have no aspiration. The correct explanation of the name Fingal, which first appears in the "Bruce" of John Barbour, is given incidentally by Drummond, Essay, p. 142, and Ch. Stewart, Killin, Collection of Gaelic Songs, p. 83; Hill, Ancient Erse Poems, p. 6, wrote *Fion na Gaël*. In 1689, in Dublin, a travesty appeared, The Irish Hudibras or the Fingalian Prince, in which Ossian poses as the bard of the Danish giants in Ireland (Ulster Journal, VI., 1858, p. 315). "Fingalian" is derived from *Fionn-ghall*, "fair stranger," that is, Norwegian, which is occasionally confounded with the name of the leader of the Feinne—as, for instance, in *a shliochd riogh Fionnaghaidhill* (R. Macdonald, Collection 2, p. 114), instead of Fionna-ghall; cf. Mackenzie, Beauties of Gaelic Poetry, p. 38, 77, 214. [Dr Stern's explanation is not quite satisfactory. Barbour's "Fyngal" is a copyist's error, the original being "fra Fyng al his men"—Goll took from Fin *all* his men. The name Ri Fionnghall—King of the Norse—is the title assumed by the Lord of the Isles, and is the real origin of Macpherson's Fingal.—TRANS.]

again appears in "Fingal" 1, 439, as 'Sith-àluinn.' One cannot mention all the numberless personal names invented deliberately by Macpherson, and with a special regard, as in the case of 'Malvina,' to considerations of euphony.

Is it possible then, we ask, that the universally known name of Finn's warrior bands, 'fiann' or 'feinn, the Féinne, never once occurs in this Gaelic "Ossian?" [20] It was possible because Macpherson was insufficiently acquainted with the Gaelic language and poetry, and because in his poems he generally abandoned the scene of the old mythical legends and transported his heroes into the region of his own imagination. The majority of his place-names are quite fictitious and untraceable, and the actual names are met with at other times under another garb. It has been already remarked that 'Morven'—'Mór-bheann,' great mountain—is a piece of romantic invention; and Macpherson's apologists are accustomed to identify it as Morairn (Cb. 186b)—Morvern, on the Sound of Mull, in Argyll—as if this were a mere matter of course. The name of the Royal palace, 'Selma' or 'Seallamath'—that is, 'Belvedere' (fine prospect)—is of Macpherson's own creation: scholars locate the actual site as that of the ancient Berigonium at Ardmucknish, north of Loch Etive. The old Irish regal seat, Temair or Teamhair—rampart or terrace—in the province of Meath, callel by O'Flaherty, in his "Ogygia" (p. 186), Temoria, and indicated in an ancient tradition in the Dinnshenchas as 'Teae Murum,' [21] has undergone an astonishing transformation at the hands of Macpherson. From the customary pronunciation of the oblique case, 'Teamhrach, Teamhra,' the name is written Taura, Tewra, or Tura, but in Ireland Tara; yet he uses Temora and Tura in close conjunction (e.g., Temora, p. 165—1, 100-104), without, of course, suspecting that both are variants of the very same word. Further, in the Gaelic "Ossian" of 1807 the name is daringly changed into 'Tighmora,' apparently in the belief that it is equivalent to 'great house'; and quite as impossible is his rendering of the name as 'Ti-mor-ri'—'house of the great king'—in 1763 (Temora, p. 179). [22] We need not

[20] *Fiann*, gen. *feinne*, means the band, troop; the plural, *fianna*, the troops or the soldiers: usually Finn's troops are understood thereby, and in modern times the Irish Celts delight to designate themselves the "Fenians."

[21] Cf., Wh. Strokes in "Folk-lore," 3, 470. "Revue Celtique," 15, 277.

[22] John Smith, Seandàna (p. 43), gives this valuable verse—

"An Seallama, 'n Taura no 'n Tigh-mòr-rí'
Cha'n'eil slige, no ozan, no clarsach."

"In Selma" (Macphersonian), "in Taura" (or Tura, properly Teamair), "or in Tigh-mor-righ" (or Temoria, properly Teamair), "there is neither shell, song, nor harp."

therefore be surprised that he altered 'Olnecmacht,' the ancient name of the Province of Connaught, into 'Alnecma' (Temora 2, 287), and 'Sorcha,' the Land of Light, the Land of the Blest, into a region 'Sora,' in Scotland.

But a truce to this Gaelic "Ossian!" Had it all along been more diligently read and studied, it would certainly not have been so often belauded.

The intention to defraud was present to Macpherson from the time that influential patrons honoured him with their confidence. The two specimens printed by him in the "Gentleman's Magazine," xxx., 287 et seq.,[23] and the "Fragments" of 1760, in which "Ossian" already is the chief figure,[24] are a still more scandalous product than the "Poems," if that, indeed, be possible; and only two of the "Fragments" (Nos. 6 and 14) are based on ballads, by which we mean that some lines of these are incorporated—all the rest of the composition being romantic phantasy. Let us then listen to himself in his Introduction to the "Fragments":—"The translation is extremely literal. Even the arrangement of the words in the original has been imitated;" and in his preface to his Introduction of 1771:—"An enemy to fiction himself, he imposes none upon the world." Now, in this very work he forged (p. 168) Gaelic verses, and (p. 180 et seq.) he 'translates' a legend, which has absolutely no existence whatever, on the subject of the Celtic elysium. But it is everywhere the same; his whole literary life reeks of fraud. Macpherson resorted to falsehood because the reputation of having discovered and restored to an honoured publicity something ancient and marvellous which had escaped the notice of all others was of greater value in his eyes than the simple truth that his actual materials were nothing but the familiar folk-poetry which he despised, and which the friends of his muse looked upon as merely miserable crudities. His imposture is, in its details, even more detestable than that of Th. de la Villemarqué, whose "Barraz-Breiz," nowadays recognised as spurious, took similar unwarrantable liberties with the popular ballads of the Bretons. It may be conceded that Macpherson had to some small extent imbibed the spirit of Gaelic poetry, but he had so mixed it up with noxious sentimentality and religious unction

[23] One of the two songs. "Autumn is dark on the mountains," appears later in "Carricthura;" the other, "The wind and the rain are over," is absorbed in the "Songs of Selma."

[24] Of the "Fragments," four find a place later in "Carricthura," five in the "Fingal," two in the "Songs of Selma," and five remained unused.

that it became scarcely recognisable as a native product. All that remains to his credit, then, is the impetus he gave to the study of the Gaelic language, and his services in this direction cannot be belittled.

We cannot now, said J. Hardinan in 1831, look back on this huge piece of fabrication—which certainly belonged to a period notorious for its literary impostures—without amazement at the perfect audacity of the forger, the infatuation of his learned apologists, and the national credulity and ignorance of an entire people. In Scotland, it is true, it took a longer time for the truth to prevail, and that it penetrated to all parts of Germany no one who has studied this period of the history of literature can readily maintain. We therefore trust that the foregoing exposition will not appear superfluous. [25]

We cannot take leave of this counterfeit "Ossian" without mentioning some of the kindred spirits whom the example of this desperate man tempted to similar courses.

The first of these Ossianists is a John Clark, who in 1778 published as the work of Caledonian bards a small volume of poems in English prose—vapid imitations, which even surpassed Macpherson in lachrymose sentimentality, and can deceive only the most credulous and inexperienced. Of the first two sections of the "Mordubh," the first of these epic poems, Gillies supplied in 1786 a Gaelic version, the beginning of which was again printed in D. Macleod's "Orain," 1811, p. 257 et seq., and it was not till

[25] I may, by way of example, express my astonishment that Sidney Lees' Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XXXV., 1893, sub voce Macpherson, homologates the views of imperfectly-informed apologists in stating, "It is therefore clear that the general charge of forgery in the form in which it was made by Johnson was unjustifiable." Johnson's verdict is undeniably the correct one. At the same time, we have seen that many scholars have wavered in their judgment, for instance, our own Jacob Grimm (Kleinere Schriften II., 79), and even Celtic specialists have not always expressed themselves with the decisiveness called for on this point: take H. Ebel in the Litterarisches Centralblatt, 1870, p. 835; H. Gaidoz n the Revue Celtique I., 482; E. Windisch in his article "Keltische Sprachen" in Ersch and Gruber's Encyklopädie (1864), p. 160. But, like W. Shaw, in the last century many scholars, from being believers, have become unbelievers. We specially mention Thomas Maclauchlan (Gaelic Society, Inverness, VII., 204-9, 127); further, compare J. F. Campbell's Tales of the West Highlands IV., 1862, with his Leabhar na Feinne, 1872; Gaelic Society, Inverness, X., 95 et seq. with XII., 210 (1886), and Celtic Magazine XII., 135 et seq. (1887); and, last of all, An Gaidheal VI., 65 (1877), with Chambers's Encyclopædia (1891).

1821 [26] that a complete edition of these 763 rhymeless verses was given to the public. While this translation is a verbal counterpart of the English original, Clark's own translations from the Gaelic are nothing more than dull and wearisome paraphrases, like Alexander Macdonald's "Summer," and "The Wish of the Aged Bard," a piece first published by R. Macdonald, and in all probability composed by himself. [27] He had not inherited his father's literary capacity.

The second of the Ossianists is, we must say with regret, John Smith, of Campbellton (ob. 1807), a man whose efforts to give a fixed form to the written language of the Scottish Gaels entitles him to some credit. In 1780 he published in English, and in 1787 in a Gaelic rendering, fourteen poems of the Ossianic type, partly in rhyme and partly rhymeless, "for the most part taken down from oral recitation." These 'Seandàna' are certainly written in intelligible language, but they out-Macpherson Macpherson, and the effrontry of such a forgery at the hands of a clergyman fills one with amazement. A frank confession that he himself was the author of these old songs—which brought him neither fame nor money—did not commend itself to Smith, though a year before his death this course was suggested to him by P. Graham.

The third fabricator is the Baron Edmund de Harold, an Irishman in the Elector-Palatine service. He in 1775 turned into German Macpherson's Poems, and in 1787 published on his own account a series of seventeen forgeries. That he was conscious that this was a culpable act on his part is manifest from a letter, of date 5th December, 1775, found among his papers, and

[26] This is an undoubted forgery. The passage Mordubh 316 varies entirely in the Gaelic edition from what, according to a note in Clark's "translation," p. 54, it should read. Mordubh 102: *'s cuim am bi Mordal air dheireadh?* is Macphersonic, "and why should Ogar be the last?" (Fingal IV., 61). Mordubh 111, *Corbhui bu bheag cliu*, has its prototype in Macpherson's "Conan of small renown" (Fingal 6, 399), and this again echoes phrases like *fa claon ghniomh*, Ch. Brooke's Relics II., p. 404, or *bu chaol gniomh*, Cb. 75a, in the Ballads. *Deòghreine* in the Mordubh also signifies "sunbeam," as in Macpherson, and the "narrow house" also is used, 471.

[27] The Scottish Gaels set great store by this poem, but it does not belie the Macphersonian spirit, especially in such expressions as *ged sheinneadh taisg* Strophe 13, Gormheall 15, *a chaodh nach pill o'n leabaidh chaoil* 21 (c.f. *leabaidh de 'n gérr bhidh cumhang*, Hardiman I., 94), *fosglaibh' thalla Oisein 's Dhaoil* 36 (c.f. Temora II., 550), *teach nam bàrd air Ardbheinn* and *mo shlige* 37. *Slige chreachainn* or *chreachag*, the clam shell, the cup of the Ossianic heroes was, in fact, in earlier days the drinking vessel in the Scottish Highlands (c.f. Smith *Seandàna* p. 27: Alex. Macdonald, Poems, p. 75), and we come across it also in the latest poets (such as Mary Macpherson and John Macfadyen).

addressed to Herder, in which the spuriousness of the Macpherson poems is disclosed with the greatest lucidity. "No one," he writes, "admires him more than I do; but I admire truth more than him." This, however, did not prevent his sending, on 20th August of the same year, a Macpherson poem of his own composition to Herder, with the declaration, "I've translated this song from the Celtic into English." [28]

The fourth of the Ossianists is the Rev. D. MacCallum, of Arisaig, who published, in 1821, not only the complete "Mordubh," but also a Gaelic poem, "Collath," the alleged work of an ancient bard "Fonar." Both were reprinted in J. Mackenzie's "Beauties of Gaelic Poetry," 1840. "Collath" is a clumsy performance, after Macpherson, of 504 unrhymed verses, and was manufactured by the editor himself, as is proved by his admission in the second edition of 1842, where he applies himself to explain and remove the deception.

So widely had the Macpherson virus infected the native land of the poet that some writers could not restrain themselves from alloying, with sentimental additions, the genuine indigenous popular poetry. We accordingly propose to examine critically the Gaelic ballad texts after 1763, and to clear them of foreign impurities. Even in Ireland itself the evil had to be reckoned with. There Theophilus O'Flannagan outdid all previous performances in that quarter by finding in the moor of the Hill of Callan, in the county of Clare, a weathered stone with an Ogam inscription. This turned out to be the epitaph of Conan, a hero who has an entertaining role in the Ossianic folk-songs, and the fortunate discoverer published some stanzas taken, it was said, from an ancient manuscript, but in reality his own handiwork, or that of J. Lloyd or M. Comyn, which described the manner of Conan's death and his grave, and, likewise, made mention of the inscription. O'Flannagan's learned treatise is to be found in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy of the year 1787. [29]

Chapter II.

While the poems of Macpherson were the object of unprecedented popular laudation, the veritable folk-ballads on which they were founded got scarcely any attention, although the latter were of the highest probative value in the controversy as to the

[28] Rud. Haym, Herder nach seinem Leben and seinen Werken II., 606-609.

[29] A vindication of O'Flanagan was undertaken by Sam. Ferguson. V. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy II., 1 (1879), pp. 160, 265, 315.

authenticity of the "Poems of Ossion." These Ossianic ballads are, without exception, late Irish or late Gaelic metrical compositions, and to have a proper conception of their development it is necessary to retrace our steps to the older and mid-Irish literature —a period of immense interest and singularly rich in myths and poetry.

The mythological or Saga world of the Gaelic races comprise three cycles—First, the story of the Tuatha De Danann in their continued character as terrestrial spirits or fairies—the mythological cycle: this cycle is left out of account in the present investigation; second, the heroic feats of Cuchulinn, under King Conchobar of Ulster, who is made contemporaneous with the birth of Christ; and, lastly, the feats and adventures of the soldier King, Finn Mac Cumaill, and his troops, under the Head King, Cormac, in the third century. These myths are primæval, yet we must bear in mind that not only has the actual existence of Cuchulainn as "Fortissimus hero Scotorum" been called in question, but that Professor Zimmer has declared the mythic personality of Finn to be merely an Irish representation of a Norwegian chieftain, Caittil Find (the fair, 'hvíti,' Cathal), in the ninth century, of whom the Irish annals testify, and that, in the opinion of the same scholar, the names Ossin and Oscar are the old Norse Asvin and Asgeirr. [30]

The period of Cuchulinn myths or sagas is that of the birth of Christ. Then, according to the Irish narrators ('seannachaidh'), flourished Eochaidh Feidlech, chief King of Ireland, to whom is attributed the division of the kingdom into separate provinces. Among the kings of his time, Conchobar Mac Nessa is pre-eminent, who ruled over Ulster, and in his palace, Craebruad (the red branch), and at his seat, Emain, gathered round himself a brilliant band of knights ('curaidh'), of whom were prominent Conall Cernach, Laegaire Buadach, Fergus Mac Roig, and, above all, Cuchulaind or Cuchullin, the son of Subaltam. Of the numerous mid-Irish tales regarding these heroes, which are preserved in the old codices, such as "Lebor na Huidre," The Book of the Dun Cow (hide) (eleventh century), "The Book of Leinster" (twelfth

[30] Cf. Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum 35, 141, 254; Götting. Gel. Anzeigen 1891, p. 186; Academy 1891, I., 284; Revue Celtique 12, 295 et seq.; also Skene, Celtic Scotland, I., 312. H. F. Hore in 1858 tries to establish that Goll Mac Morna and Finn Mac Cumaill were leaders of foreign mercenaries in Ireland (v. Ulster Journal of Archæology, VI., 294 et seq.) It is not impossible that "fiann," the collective form being "feinnidh," is a borrowed word—according to Zimmer, it might be the old Norse borrowed word *fjandr*, enemy—and that the warriors so designated belonged to a foreign stock. Adhuc sub judice lis est.

century), "The Book of Ballymote" (1390), "The Yellow Book of Lecan" (1391), "The Book of Mac-Firbis of Lecan" (1416), "The Book of Lismore" (fifteenth century), and other later repositories, the most celebrated is the "Táin bó Chuailgne" [31] (the spoil of the cattle of Cooley), contained in the two oldest manuscripts.

In this Irish prose "Iliad," with its inlaid metrical passages, is given the story of a campaign of the Ulster heroes against the men of Connaught, over whom ruled Ailill, along with Medb, a daughter of the Chief King, Eochaidh. Cuchullin is the Achilles of this story. Up to quite modern times the Irish have read the "Táin," though in a materially altered text very different from that of the ancient ballads, the obsolete words being for the most part replaced by others more current, and the antique forms changed into modern. The transformation which the ancient original has undergone in the process of oral transmission is shown by the "Torachd na taine" (the pursuit of the cattle spoil), collected by Alex. Carmichael, in the Island of Uist, and published by him in 1873. [32] We can trace the origin of many another popular tale and of several ballads to the rich legendary profusion of this mythical era.

The romantic stories of the knights of the "Red Branch" belong to the North of Ireland—that is, Ulster and Connaught—while the band of Finn and the Fenians (the Fèinne) has its original domicile in the South, Leinster and Munster. In the old written records it does not bulk largely, but its development and expansion have continued into modern times. In the third century of our era, the story relates, there existed in Ireland the martial caste, the Féinne, a militia or standing army under the Chief, King Cormac 'Longbeard' (Ulfhada), the son of Art, and grandson of Conn "of the hundred fights" (cetcathach), and his successor, Cairbre Lifechair. This band was divided into three or more, usually seven, regiments (catha), and had officers over every nine, fifty, and hundred men, though other accounts give 150 officers for every "three times nine" men. Whoever wished to enlist had to satisfy rigorous tests. He had in a way to renounce his relatives, and to his comrades alone belonged the right

[31] Both recensions of this are analysed by H. Zimmer in the Zeitschrift für virgleichende Sprachforschung" (28, 442-75).

[32] Gaelic Society, Inverness (2, 25 et seq.), translated in "Celtic Magazine" (13, 321-351 et seq.); another version from the Island of Eigg is found in "Celtic Magazine" (13, 514-16). Macpherson also gives the tale of "Tora natana," "a dispute about possession," in which an alleged expedition of Cuchullin's against the Firbolg or Belgae of Britain is depicted ("Fingal" p. 144, ed. 1762).

to vindicate him (eric). He must have the gift of poetry, and be versed in the twelve books of the Muse according to the rules of the Chief Bard (ollam). With only a hazel stick of an arm's length in his hand and a spear, and standing in a hole in the earth, he had to allow himself to be attacked simultaneously by nine warriors armed with spears from a distance of nine field-rigs, and unless he emerged scathless from this trial he was rejected. With the hair of his head set up, and with a start of only a tree's breadth, he had to run through a forest with a whole war-troop in chase: he dared not let himself be overtaken or his hair fall, nor must the weapon in his hand tremble, nor a withered twig break under his foot. He had also to spring over a branch the height of his forehead, and bend under another no higher than his knee. Besides he must be able to hold out a spear without trembling arm, and to pull out while running a thorn from his foot with his nail. Bravery in face of the enemy, chivalric regard towards women, and compassion for the poor were other obligations, along with loyalty to the Chief King and sworn fidelity to the head commander. In time of peace the Fèinne were the custodians of the public security, they maintained the right of the ruler, and guarded the harbours against strangers. They received no pay, and only in winter—from 'Samhain' or All Saints, that is, 1st November—were they under shelter. In summer—from 'Béltine' (or Easter fire), that is, 1st May—they lived in the open, and supported themselves by the chase and fishing; they slept on a triple couch of branches, moss, and rushes, and cooked in the evening their daily meal, roasting the flesh at the fire or stewing it between heated stones. The traces of their fires ('fualachta na bhfiann') the peasant finds even at the present day in deep layers of the ground. The foregoing is the account the Irish historians give us of the Féinne[33]:—

"Ní chanamaois-ne an fhiann gó,
Bréag leó nior samhlaidh riamh:
Le firinne is le neart ar lámh
Do thigmis slán o gach gliadh."

"A lie ne'er spoke the Féinne,
Nor was deceit their wont:
Strong of hand and true,
Scatheless we came from each fray."[34]

[33] Cf. Wh. Stokes, the Book of Lismore, p. XL.; O'Grady, Silva Gadelica, p. 92, 258; G. Keating, the History of Ireland, translated by J. O'Mahony, p. 345-50; O'Curry, Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish, 2, 379.

[34] Journ. Kilkenny Arhaeol. Soc. I., 1849-51 p. 333; Transactions of the Ossianic Society, 4, 52, 84.

The generalissimo or 'rigfheinnid'[35] ('War-king') of this renowned band was, in the time of Chief King Cormac, Finn or Find (modern Irish 'Fionn'). His father was Cumall (Cumhall, Cuwal), the son of Trenmor, who, under Conn of the hundred fights, had attained the same dignity, and who was killed by Goll Mac Morna in the battle of Cnucha; and Finn's mother was the Murne Munchaem, a daughter of the Druid Taig (Tadg), and from her he inherited his stronghold of Alwinn (Alma, Almhain, nowadays Allen), in the county of Kildare, in Leinster.[36] Now, the oldest tradition—in Cormac's Glossary s.v. 'orcc tréith'—recognises Finn Mac Cumaill as the great hunter, whose power extended over all Ireland, and this coincides with the statement that he filled the post of honour of 'amhusgilla con,' head huntsman of the Chief King (Silva Gad., p. 90). But the legend has decked him out as a War-King, with all the accessory accomplishments. Not only was he Field Marshal of the army and head of his race, but also seer, poet, and prophet. So in an old poem it reads:—

"Ba rí, ba fáid, ba fili
Ba triath co mét mór-fhine
Ar fisid 's ar ndrái 's ar fáid
Ba bind lind cach ni doráid."

The foremost heroes in Finn's army were Cailte, the son of Ronan, the son of Finn's aunt Eithne, a daughter of Tadg; Dermid, the son of O'Duibhne; MacLugach, son of Finn's sister; and Finn's own sons, Fergus and Oisin, and Oscar, the son of the latter. Like Finn, they all were of the Baisgne branch, and with this was allied the branch of Morna under its chief Goll, the strongest warrior of Féinne, who formerly had led them from Connaught. Goll's brother was Garadh Black-knee (glun-dubh), and his kinsman was Conan, the Thersites among the Féinne, as Brichni was before him in the days of King Conchobar. Not a

[35] In a way, the seventh king in Ireland—along with the Chief King and the kings of the five fifths into which the land was divided. Silva Gad., 258.

[36] A poem in the Giessen Irish manuscript of Daniel Driscoll (p. 52b) "*Fiarfraios Padraig Mhacha*," which also appears in the "Duanaire Fhinn," makes Finn a descendant of the Ulster chieftain, Deaghaidh, who was driven out by the Clan Rughraidhe, and settled in South Munster. His grandson was the famed Curi Mac Daire, whose brother Baisgne was Finn's ancestor. To the same Deaghaidh another genealogical tree in a tale in the same manuscript (p. 19a) leads back (cf. Silva Gad. p. 280).

few tales celebrate the Féinne and their exploits, but the most of these are embodied in the modern Irish language.[37]

The power of the Féinne and the rigour with which they guarded their hunting and other privileges are said to have become so unbearable to the Irish that Cormac's successor, Cairbre, was anxious to drive the band into exile. One story gives it that this widespread hostility came to a head when the Féinne tried to exact the "Herrenrecht" (jus primae noctis) in the case of Cairbre's daughter (Oss. I., 134 et seq.). The Chief King took the field against them, and utterly crushed them at Gabor or Gaura in 283 A.D., or, according to the other account, in two battles, Gaura and Ollarba (Silva Gad. p. 118). Of the few survivors, Oisin and Cailte are said to have outlived all others, even, according to the Saga, to have lived up to the time of Saint Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, who arrived in the land in the year 431. An extant middle-Irish tract, the "Agallamh na Senorach" (the Discourse of the Seniors), is based on this legend, and it relates that both the aged men accompanied the saint in his journeys throug- Ireland, and entertained him with stories of the heroic time, and that they were noted down by Patrick's amanuensis, Brocán.[38]

In the Mid-Irish literature we also find individual poems which are ascribed to the Fenian heroes, but these compositions are certainly not of that epoch, as such antique relics of the Irish language are absolutely non-existent, though, it may be admitted, some of them reach back to the Old-Irish linguistic boundary. Extolled above all, even as a bard, is Finn Mac Cumhaill, and to him is imputed, along with a frament in "Lebor na Huidre," 11B, 20, and with the verses in the "Book of Leinster" (192A, 34-62;

[37] The oldest of these tales concerns the youthful feats of Finn (ed. O'Donovan, Oss. IV., 288 et seq.; ed. Dav. Comyn, Dublin, 1881; ed. K. Meyer, Rev. Cel. V.. 197 et seq.); two short tales edited by K. Meyer (Rev. Celt. XIV., 241 et seq.) out of the old Stowe MS. 992. The same scholar published the "Battle of Ventry" (Oxford, 1885), which shows already the New Irish characteristics. Other New Irish tales from the Ossianic Saga cycle have been published by N. O'Kearney, St H. O'Grady, J. O'Daly (Self-Instruction, 1871, p. 41—Silva, p. 289), P. W. Joyce, J. F. Campbell (Cb. 88), W. A. Craigie (Scottish Rev. XXIV., 270), &c.

[38] The *Agallamh* has been edited from the Book of Lismore, and translated by St H. O'Grady (Silva Gadelica, p. 94-233). Previously three poems from this same source were published by O'Conor, Scriptores I., Epistola, p. 123 (—Silva Gad., p. 149; in a later recension by O'Kearney, Oss. I., 33); by O'Curry, Materials, p. 594 (—Silva Gad., p. 111); by J. O'Daly, Oss. IV., 280 (—Silva Gad., p. 105). Two extracts therefrom have been translated by H. Zimmer in the Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum XXXIII., 268 et seq.

193A, 34-204A, 32; 297B, 61-298B, 34), the Spring-Song "Cettemain cain" (Revue Celtique 5, 201). and the Summer-song, "Tanic-som slan soer," in the Oxford Rawlinson manuscript, B502, fol. 59B (Gottinger Gel. Anzeigen, 1887, p. 185); also two poems in the Book of Lecan (O'Curry, Manuscript Materials, p. 303); the didactic poem to Mac Lugach in the "Agallamh," a prophecy, etc. (Silva Gad., p. 107, 230). Other poems are attributed to Cailte Mac Ronáin, some in the "Agallamh, and one especially in the Book of Leinster, 208A, 24, in which the veteran bewails the decay of his strength and dexterity.

As the solitary remaining hero, Oisin, the son of Finn, comes before us in an ancient poem, which Kuno Meyer (Revue Celt. 6, 186), brought to light from a manuscript of the fourteenth century, MS. Stowe, 992. Here the bard pours out his lament in the style of the many later ballads which bear his name:—

My hands are withered,
My deeds are checked.
The flood pressed on and reached the land,
And swamped my might.

Thanks give I to the Creator,
Who joy and fortune gives.
Long is my day in this sad life!
Happy was I in other days.

Stately was our hero band:
Gracious were the wives they had.
Faint-hearted leave I not the world;
My proud career is at an end.

Noteworthy is another poem of Oisin in the Book of Leinster (154A, 44), as it refers to the already mentioned Battle of Gaura, in which his son, Oscar, and King Cairbre fought one another to the death [39]:—

An ogam on a stone, and a stone on a grave,
Where once men trod;
Erin's prince on a white horse
Was slain by a slender spear.

[39] Cf. E. Windisch, Irische Texte, p. 157 et seq.; O'Grady, Silva Gad., transl., p. 475, 521; D'Arbois de Jubainville, L' Epopée Celtique en Irlande 1, 391.

Cairbre made a cruel cast,
High on his horse good in the fray;
Shortly before they both were lamed—
He struck Oscar's right arm off.

Oscar made a mighty cast,
Raging bold like a lion:
Killed Cairbre, grandson of Conn,
Whom warriors bold obeyed. [40]

Youths, mighty and daring,
They met their death in the strife;
Not long before their combat,
More heroes had fallen than lived.

I myself was in the fight,
Southward there of Gabor green;
Twice fifty men I slew—
With my own hand I slew them.

The Ogam is here on the stone,
Round which many ill-fated fell;
Were Finn, in prowess great, alive,
Long in mind would be the Ogam.

The original text has both alliteration and assonance, and, as customary, the first and the last words of the poem are the same. An equally ancient ballad of Ossin's (LL. 208A, 7—E. Windisch, Texte, p. 162) depicts a hunt of a wild boar; and of later date seems to be a poem edited by Wh. Stokes from the Book of Leinster (206B), in which Ossin names himself as the author under the appellation "The Blind Guaire." Its subject is an adventure of Finn's with ghosts. [41] Less ancient are also many other Mid-Irish poems recounting detached exploits and experiences of the Féinne, such as the poem "Dám thrír tancatur ille" (LL. 207B, 5), which describes a campaign of the Féinne against Norwegian pirates. Another, the "Tipra Sengarmna fo shnas" (LL. 197A; BB. 377A, 50), on an adventure of Ossin's, is given to his brother, Fergus Finnbél ('Fair-Beard,' or as O'Grady reads it, 'True-Lips'), who is plainly spoken of as 'Fili Fhinn'—Finn's Poet. This poem belongs to the variously preserved topographical work, Dindshenchas, 'Land-Lore,' as do also several

[40] That is to say, Those who did mighty, warlike deeds followed him as their leader.

[41] A prose tale on the same subject is edited in the Rev. Celt. 13, 5, et seq.

others, which derive names of places from Fenian warriors, and gave the occasion of the nomenclature, such as Ath-liag (LL. 163B; BB. 394B), Cnamhross (LL. 195A; BB. 367B), Snám-dá-én (LL. 203A, 2; cf. Revue Celtique 13, 3, etc.).

The foregoing are the oldest existing Ossianic poems. Their age is the eleventh and twelfth centuries, though a few of them may be more venerable. In the ancient form of the myth, the eloquent singer, Fergus, stands forth as the chief bard of the Féinne, though now and again verses are ascribed to other heroes. But the later myth, as it is found in the modern Irish and Gaelic languages, has adopted Ossian as the last of the Féinne, and made him the bard who celebrates in song the deeds of his hunting and martial tribe.[42] Not, however, that he was the real author of one of the ballads attributed to him, but he became a prominent bardic figure in the myth. The more recent version of the legend, which, as treated by Mich. Comyn in a well-known Irish poem, represents Oschin as having outlived his friend, Cailte, and made a journey into the "Land of Youth," whence he returned, broken with years and sorrow, and lived till the time of the holy Patrick.[43] In consequence, many of the modern ballads handed down orally and in writing since the end of the fifteenth century are addressed to this apostle, or take the form of dialogues between him and Oschin. The old warrior is said to have at last accepted the new doctrine, and became Christian.[44]

[42] The most ancient name of the bard is Ossin or Oisin (LL. 154a, 197b 203b, 208a; BB. 377a). The latter is the usual Irish form, and has in the south the accent on the second syllable: thus it is even copied as "Isheen." The import, if any, of the name is "the little deer." In North Ireland such formations were pronounced with the stress on the root vowel, so then "Oschin." The Scottish Gaels have gone further, and given the diminutive affix *an* (instead of *án*) to the word: *Oisean, e.g., Oschan*, and this Macpherson, in his writing of it *Oscian*, expresses as *Ossian*.

[43] According to an Irish poem in the Giessen MS. of D. Driscoll (Fol. 54b), the most renowned of the Féinne all reached an immense age, which yields little to that of the Jewish patriarchs. Thus—

Dobhi saoghal Oisin mic Fhinn
Tri ceud bliaghun go haoibhinn,
Seachd mbliaghna deag fa dho,
Mi seachdmhuin agus aon lo.

Oisin, Finn's son, was in life,
Happy, three hundred years;
To that twice seventeen years,
A month, a week, and one day.

[44] The surname of St Patrick, the son of Calpurnius, *Mac Calpuirn*, or Mac Chalfruinn (Hardiman 2, 366), becomes next Mac Alprainn (Saltair, 2364; Silva Gad., p. 95), or Mac Arpluin (Oss. 1, 96), or Mac Arphlnin (4, 32), and then among the Scots takes the more familiar form of *Mac Alpin*.

This, then, is the Ossianic romance of the Gaelic heroic ballads. Its home is Ireland, but it has diffused itself not only to the West of Scotland and the Hebrides, but also to the Isle of Man.[45]

Our main concern here, however, is the heroic ballads of the Scottish Gaelic, and in the contents, form, and language of these we have constant reminiscences of their Irish prototypes, and especially many linguistic peculiarities which are quite foreign to the Scottish Gaelic of to-day. To the Irish ballads they have pretty much the same relationship as the Portugese romances to the Spanish, both of which also have often a common parentage.[46] The marvellous and the impossible are as prominent in these poems of the later time as in the Middle-Irish tales, but the former have not the like propriety in the details of description and action as in the historical and geographical nomenclature; and since the heroes are figures of the Irish legends preserved in an old and extensive literature, and the theatre of action is uniformly in Ireland, the Scottish tradition is continually in special danger of confusion and distortion. So it confounds Conchobar and Conall, Emain and Tara, and for 'Almhain,' that is, Allen, in the county of Kildare, it introduces the like-sounding and better-known 'Albain,' that is, Scotland. In this process the ballads have lost sight of the standing of Finn Mac Cumaill under the Chief King of Ireland, and call him merely a King of Innisfail or Ireland; indeed, sometimes they entirely forget that Finn lived in Ireland and not in Scotland; yet a real poet like Duncan Macintyre ("Poems," p. 204) actually lets us hear the skirl of the bagpipes in the hall of Finn, Goll, and Garadh. The ballads of the older romantic cycle are likewise in the end ascribed to the bard Oschin: names of the period of Cuchulinn are transferred to the Ossianic, and vice versa; but nevertheless the events of these two epochs are not in general jumbled together, as is the case in the poems of Macpherson. The primitive character and the deterioration of the legend, along with the greater or less purity of its language, afford us the most reliable tokens of the antiquity of these Ossianic metrical compositions. Their genesis, as already stated, dates back to the fifteenth century. The oldest are con-

[45] Songs of Osshin Mac Own are also to be found in the Manx, to accept the authority of Vallancey ("Vindication of the Ancient History of Ireland," Dublin, 1789, p. 551), and O'Conor (Dean's Book, p. lxxxiv.). Unfortunately, no specimens are given.

[46] Compare, for instance, the Spanish romantic ballad, "Oh, Valencia! oh, Valencja, de mal fuego seas quemada!" (Wolf and Hofmann, 1, 176), with the Portugese "Ai Valenca, guai Valenca, de fogo sejas queimada!" (Harding 1, 8).

tained in the so-called "Dean's Book," a collection of modern Gaelic or Irish poems made by James Macgregor and his brother Duncan about 1512, the former the Dean of Lismore, an island in the county of Argyll. Among them are twenty-nine Ossianic ballads, by which we mean those of the Cuchulinn era as well as that of Finn, and several are ascribed to Scottish bards of the time, as, for example, "Conlaoch" to the Gillie Callum Mac an Ollav, "Fröch" to the Keich O'Cloan, "Dermid's Death" and the "Battle of Gaura" to Allan MacRorie. The authorship of other poems in the "Book" is unknown: in this list are "Maihre," "The Great Hunt," "The Sweetest Music," "The Faithless Women," "The Praise of Goll," "The Praise of Finn," "Oschin's Complaint," and "Oschin's Prayer," in an older form. This valuable book was published in 1862 by Thomas Maclauchlan (1816-86), and in 1892 it was re-published from the posthumous papers of the eminent Alex. Cameron (1827-88). The task was onerous inasmuch as the Dean had written down, not etymologically, the poems in his own language—already showing some Albano-Gaelic divergencies from the Irish—but phonetically, and even that irregularly, in accord with the pronunciation, and this was rather wide of the actual script style. To read correctly the cursive style of the text, and to transcribe it correctly into the orthography of he day, is a labour that has not yet been successfully accomplished, although the second editor made most admirable progress in this direction. A faultless reproduction of the venerable codex is yet very desirable.

As the second oldest collection of Ossianic poetry, we cannot overlook that preserved in the Franciscan monastery at Dublin, although it is a pure Irish text—the "Duanaire Fhinn," "Finn's Song-Book," of the year 1627. Professor Zimmer called attention to it.[47] Of its 69 songs, the first 56 belong to the most ancient poetry of the kind, and about a dozen of the poems are in print, among them "Derg" and "Ergan," "Oschin's Lament," "Oschin's Prayer," "Oscar's Battle-Song" (Oss. 1, 156), "Goll's Dirge" (Cameron 1, 365), etc. In all the profusion of Fenian poems and tales in Irish, this manuscript is certainly the most important, and its text is estimated by Professor O'Curry to extend to 3000 printed quarto pages. Little is available in print of the ballad wealth contained in the numerous later Irish manuscripts: some have been edited by J. Walker in 1786, Charlotte Brooke (ob. 1793) in 1789, S. O'Halloran in 1790, Charles Wilson

[47] Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen (1887, p. 172, et seq.

in 1792, Theoph. O'Flanagan in 1808, J. Hardiman in 1831; and then in the Transaction of the Ossianic Society of Dublin, six poems by N. O'Kearney in 1854, two by St. H. O'Grady in 1857, and six in 1859, and an equal number in 1861 by J. O'Daly. The selection which J. H. Simpson ("Poems of Ossian, Bard of Erin": London, 1857) translated into prose is not so happy. A better one is that by Drummond in his "Ancient Irish Minstrelsy" (1852), but its metrical paraphrases give us no better conception of the antique original than the imitations of his predecessor, Miss Brooke. The Scottish Gaels are not so rich in Ossianic poetry, and they have no ancient manuscript thereof apart from the 'Dean's Book"[48]; but in the last century they have shown praiseworthy zeal in recording the traditional lore. The most important part of this can be pretty completely surveyed in the "Leabhar na Féinne" ("The Book of the Féinne") [Cb.] of J. F. Campbell, of Islay (1821-85), who in 1862, in the third volume of his "Tales of the West Highlands," published six Ossianic ballads, and had recognised how necessary for the establishment of more correct textual readings was the supplying of several specimens of original text. This admirable work remained almost in abeyance for a long time, and not before 1892, from the literary remains of Alex. Cameron, did it get any substantial furtherance. In addition to the 54,000 lines of Gaelic verse in Campbell's "Leabhar na Féinne" and the 16,000 which Cameron's "Reliquiæ Celticæ" may comprise, the Ossianic ballad poetry in Scotland has been supplemented by many minor publications, so that the printed material available to the student for comparison and inspection, and of which I shall now give a cursory review, is by no means small.

The first Albano-Gaelic collection of Ossianic poetical literature was made from oral delivery about 1740 by the Rev. Alex. Pope, in Caithness. There are ten ballads in phonetic handwriting, and the text is at times far from satisfactory; as, for example, where Cuchulin, "the son of Semo" ("Mac Seimh Sualtach" or "Mac Sheimhe," Cb., 222), is made a contemporary of Finn. Three of these ballads were afterwards transcribed in a more correct form by the Rev. Mr Sage, of Kildonan (Cam. I., 393 et seq.). Of more value is the collection of Jeremy Stone, a schoolmaster in Dunkeld (ob. 1756), the first who gave an English

[48] The Edinburgh manuscripts, 36, 38, 48, 54, 62, and 65, from which Cameron published extracts in the "Reliquiæ Celticæ," are rather Irish than Albano-Gaelic. The Fernaig Manuscript (c. 1693) offers only one Ossianic song (Rel. Celt., 2, 89; cf. 2, 333, and Cb. 106).

versified imitation—"from the Irish,' as he said—of a Gaelic ballad, "Fröch" ("Scots Magazine" xviii., 1756, p. 15 et seq.). His ten ballads were taken down in tolerably correct form, and some years before the appearance of "Fingal" and "Temora," and are on the latter ground worthy of attention. They were re-printed in 1889 by Professor Mackinnon (Gael. Soc., Inverness, xiv., 314 et seq.), and some of them were incorporated by the Rev. Mr Macdiarmid in 1762 in his holograph collection.

It is probable that Macpherson's attention was drawn to the Gaelic popular poetry by Stone's imitation; and after the appearance of the "Poems of Ossian" a universal interest in this class of literature was awakened. The first published contribution, to our knowledge, of the Ossianic ballads was given, however, only in 1782-83, by the Eglishman, Thom. Ford Hill, in the "Gentleman's Magazine," vols. 52 and 53, and in a special edition thereafter in 1784 (again re-printed in the "Gaidheal" 6, 119 et seq., and, especially, Edinburgh, 1878). His texts of six ballads are very imperfectly written, and the appended translation is also often wide of the mark, but the honesty of the collection and his disinterested effort to arrive at truth in the controversy merit the fullest commendation. After him comes the Irish bishop of Clonfert, M. Young, who, in 1787, in the Transactions of the Dublin Academy, published seven ballads along with several fragments of MacArthur's. His texts, like all the rest noted down in the Highlands, are very faulty, yet they are not without merit, and his translation ("Newly Discovered Poems of Ossian," rendered into German in 1792) is, on the whole, not bad.

Of all the collections of Ossianic ballads made in Scotland in the last century, that of the Rev. Donald Macnicol (ob. 1802) gives us the best idea of the Scottish transmission of this poetry. It contains thirty ballads, and besides Hill's ballads in the "Gentleman's Magazine," copies of texts which were current in the Highlands, and also among them, with some slight deviations, the collection of Stone. Strange to say, Macnicol was a champion of Macpherson's "Ossian," and this accounts for the presence among his texts of some Gaelic translations of the English original. A more polished or more correctly written text is furnished by the ballads of Archibald Fletcher in 1801—in all twenty-one pieces. They are partly founded on Macnicol's, and their connection with the name of Fletcher is merely accidental, for (Report Appendix, p. 270) the passing remark is made that this somewhat illiterate rhapsodist had learned all these ballads fifty years before, and was accustomed to recite them. Next to

Macnicol as a collector must be rated the Rev. James Maclagan, of Blair-Atholl. He had an exceptional knowledge of Gaelic poetry, and was also a poet. Macpherson was indebted to him for some ballads, and among his extensive posthumous documents were found texts of twenty-five Ossianic heroic ballads. The lexicographer, Peter Macfarlane, who had access to Macnicol's and Maclagan's texts, is credited with only fifteen poems; these, however, of improved form in point of language.

Certain collections of Ossianic poetry from the North of Scotland—Sutherland and Caithness—are noteworthy in respect of the ancient continuity of their direct oral transference. These are, besides that of the Rev. A. Pope's, already referred to, the eight ballads of the Rev. Mr Sage, of Kildonan (1802); the ten ballads of Sir George Mackenzie, not, however, in good condition; the nine poems of John Macdonald, of Ferintosh (ob. 1849), of which, following Campbell's first edition, Alex. Cameron (Gael. Soc. Inverness, xiii., 270 et seq.) gave an amended reprint; and, lastly, some songs got by James Cumming in 1856 from Janet Sutherland, in Caithness. Cumming's manuscript, which was correctly written, came into the possession of Thos. Maclauchlan, and has been edited by Campbell. Much of special interest is also available in the not very copious collection made by Macdonald of Staffa, in the Island of Mull, 1801-3. But by far the best authority on Ossianic poetry in Scotland in the last century was Duncan Kennedy, a native Gaelic-speaking schoolmaster at Kilmelford, who put in writing two collections of ballads between 1774 and 1783. The first series of twenty-nine would not have been a bad edition of these poems had he not to an unreasonable extent re-touched the material gathered by him from sources oral, and, it may be surmised, written and filled up the the intervals in the ballads by verses of his own composition. Later on, this gifted man, abandoning himself entirely to the Macphersonian influence, prepared a second edition of thirty ballads, in which those noted down earlier were radically altered; obscure words were replaced by more readily comprehensible, and not a little complementary poetising, mainly of the Macpherson order, was indulged in. In fact, some of the poems, even to the saga on which they are founded, are out and out his own manufacture. The credit, therefore, to which Kennedy is well entitled for his industry and linguistic orthodoxy he himself in no small degree diminished. To Campbell we owe the most complete re-issue of these two collections. Some of their contents had already been published by Donald Smith (in the Report) in his selections from

several collections, but his work is wanting in critical insight and discrimination.

The texts of twenty Ossianic ballads in the collection produced by the bookseller, J. Gillies, in Perth, 1786, are, comparatively speaking, carefully edited, but they also were subjected to manipulation, and here and there to accretions in the Macphersonic vein. This book, which was seen by Young, was one much read in the Highlands, and had in consequence a predominating influence on all subsequent collections, especially so on that of the Rev. Alex. Irvine (circa 1801), whose forty ballads already reveal the deterioration of the text, and have Macphersonian additions. This is more noticeable in the seventeen ballads published by Alex. Cameron from the papers of the deceased Alex. Campbell of Portree, Isle of Skye: among them are, indeed, long poems of the Macphersonic cast. The text of the twelve poems collected by P. Turner are of much use ("Reliquiæ Celticæ" 2, 300 et seq.). Whatever real Ossianic material is contained in the Stewarts' poetical collection of 1804, it is badly disfigured by deliberate accessory composition of Macphersonic inspiration, just as the "Ossianic Poems" of the brothers Maccallum (1816), produced under the supervision of Thomas Ross. The more recent ballad texts, such as those of J. F. Campbell, from collections made by himself, and the latest of all, published by John Grigorson Campbell, of Tiree (ob. 1891), in the fourth volume of his "Waifs and Strays of Celtic Tradition," conclusively prove that the traditional preservation of [49] Ossianic poetry in Scotland is dying out.

It is unquestionable that in earlier days much more of this kind of material was to be found in Scotland and the Islands. Many of these ballads, shedding any modest artistic envelopment they had, have found their way into the popular 'märchen' ('uraccal,' Middle-Irish 'airscél'), the number of which is large, and the vitality apparently assured. [50]

One cannot avoid the general observation that the collected ballad literature of Scotland is in the main very defective in point of form—a respect in which the Irish texts are very much superior. Scottish transcribers, almost without exception, are

[49] Although the foregoing is a definite statement of the most important matter furnished by the Scottish tradition to the Ossianic poetry, yet there are individual collections as yet unedited, such as those of Malcolm Macdonald, Macdonald of Brakish, General Mackay, Sir John Sinclair, and Stewart of Craignuish.

[50] Well known are the collections of J. F. Campbell (1860-62), Lord Archibald Campbell (1889), D. Macinnes (1890), and J. Macdougall (1891). Many other Gaelic tales are scattered through the magazines.

but indifferently versed in the rather difficult orthography of the Gaelic language, with the result that the prints above enumerated rae crowded with all sorts of errors of printing, writing, reading, and hearing. For a proper understanding, therefore, of these corrupt texts, a thorough linguistic purgation is a prime requisite. In this philological labour Alex. Cameron creditably led the way in his careful edition of some ballads, and following him came Hector Maclean, in his Ultonian hero-ballads (Glasgow, 1892), with six ballads of the older legendary cycle. Should the Gaelic language last a few generations longer, a critical edition of the Ossianic ballads would be a great desideratum, though the task is, in truth, an onerous one, in view of the countless host of variants, the debasement of the texts, and the indefiniteness of the linguistic forms. [51]

Chapter III.

The poetry of the Ossianic era was at all times very acceptable to the national taste among the branches of the Gaelic race. On the authority of a Middle-Irish poem in the "Dindshenchas," we learn that at the ancient popular festivals, such as the annual fair at Carman, the "heroic exploits of Finn, of which the quantity was endless," and other tales were the standing entertainment of the crowd, [52] and so thoroughly did the mythical heroes occupy the popular imagination that we find their names attached to places all over the Gaelic-speaking area. So, when a striking feature in the landscape bears the name "Seat of Finn," or "Bed of Dermid and Grainne," imagination conjures up the figure of mighty giants who had their abode there in byegone days. As giants, Oisin and Cailte appear in the "Agallamh" to St Patrick and his contemporaries (Silva Gad., p. 95 et seq.), and so also is Finn Mac Cumal distinguished by William Dunbar and Hector Boethius ("Scotorum Historia," Paris, 1574, p. 128B), and by William Buchanan in his list of divers rude rhymes," having the glorification of the hero as their theme. [53] For the perpetuation

[51] In the section of this article in the next number of the magazine, I propose to give specimens of the Ossianic epic poems, revised by me and restored on the basis of the printed texts.

[52] *Fianruth Find, fath cen dochta*, O'Curry, Manners 3, 542. Cf., Saltair 725, 6687. Félire 132.

[53] In the Albano-Gaelic language *fiantan* (a form derived from the Dat. plur. *fiantaibh* of the word *fiann*) was taken to mean "giants." Cf. Martin, "The Western Islands of Scotland" (London, 1703), p. 152, who writes *fienty*, i.e., *fiantaibh* (R. Macdonald, Collection 2, p. 131).

of the heroic sagas we are indebted especially to the professional bards of the older times, and to such an extent did their art flourish in the sixteenth century that they were regarded by J. Carswell, Bishop of the Islands, as an evil influence. In his preface to his Prayer-Book (Edinburgh, 1567), the first print in the Gaelic, or, rather, the Irish, language in Scotland, he utters his complaint in the following words:—"Great is the blindness and darkness of sin and ignorance and understanding among composers and writers and supporters of the Gaelic, in that they prefer and practice the framing of vain, hurtful, lying earthly stories about the Tuath de Danand and about the Sons of Miled, and about the heroes and Finn Mac Cumhaill with his giants; and about many others whom I shall not number or tell of here in detail, in order to maintain and advance these, with view to obtaining for themselves passing worldly gain, rather than to write and to compose and to support the faithful words and the perfect way of truth. For the world loves the lie much more than the truth, proving how true it is which I say, that worldly men will give a price for the lie, but will not listen to the truth when offered them for nothing."

But the Ossianic myth was graven deep in the popular memory, and the transmission of the ballads was carried on up to our own century wherever Gaels met for recreation or pastime, or on convivial or solemn occasions, and often at oral competitions. This was the case alike in Ireland, Scotland, and the Islands. Eugene O'Curry, the distinguished Irish antiquary, tells, us, as a recollection of his earliest youth, how a certain O'Brien, a schoolmaster with a sonorous voice, often sailed out on the Lower Shannon with some friends, and there, over potations of whisky, entertained them with the singing of Ossianic songs. J. F. Campbell also describes the audience of a Gaelic rhapsodist on an autumn evening in the Island of Barra, one of the Outer Hebrides. A woman was busy weaving in a corner of the hut, another carded wool, and a young maiden worked deftly a distaff made of a rough forked birch branch and a spindle, which was nothing more than a bit of pine wood, while by the fire sat a pleasant, black-haired maiden, her brilliant dark eyes flashing through the peat smoke, and grown men and young lads, shortly before back from the fishing grounds, sat round smoking on benches by the wall, and listened. A man, Alex. Macdonald, had taken a place on a low stool in the middle of the hut, and recited his songs, followed by fitting remarks from his hearers, or their exclamations of applause or sympathy. "Oh, oh!" "Alas,

how sad!" cried the women when the tragic story of Dermid, the son of Oduhne, was declaimed.

The external form of these ballads—of whose melodies Sir John Sinclair and E. Bunting have given samples—is simple. The stanza, as generally in the older Irish versification, consists of four lines of simple and uniform sense, and containing seven, or sometimes eight syllables, which in the primitive and Middle-Irish ballad and literature were invariably merely connected, and not measured or balanced. The early poetry had also alliteration, the later only assonance—an incomplete kind of rhyme based on a similarity of vowels. The assonance, or the like vowel, sometimes occurs at the end of the first and second, as well as the end of the third and fourth lines. An illustration may be given from the Dean's Book—

Mor an nochd mo chumha *fein*,
A Thailginn a tha dom *rèir*,
Ri smuaintinn a' chatha chr*uaidh*
Thugamar is Cairbre crann-r*uaidh*.

Great to-night is my sorrow,
Talgin, friendly to me!
As I think of the fierce fight
Against Cairbre of the red-handled spear. [54]

But in the majority of the poems where the second line is in assonance with the fourth, the end vowel of the first and third lines is repeated inside the second and fourth lines respectively, e.g.:—

Ard a shleagh mar chrann si*uil*
Binne na teud c*iuil* a gh*uth*
Snàmhaiche do b' fhearr na Fr*aoch*
Cha do shìn a th*aobh* ri sr*uth*.

Lofty his spear, like ship's mast;
Like harp's music his voice.
A better swimmer than Fraoch
Ne'er gave his breast to the flood.

This is the usual type of assonance with later Gaelic verse-makers: they never omit the inner or middle rhyme. [55] But the

[54] Talgin was another name of St Patrick.

[55] The Middle High German Poetry has similar caesural rhymes (cf. Germania 12, 120 et seq.), and still more, the Middle Latin. The Irish metres, one of which (Rannaigecht mhòr) is the basis of the second metrical form of the Gaelic folk-ballads have developed from the rhymed hexameters, especially *Caudatis, Leoninis, Citocadis.* Cf. W. Meyer, Sitzungsberichte der Münchener Akademie 3, 70, et seq., 1875; and 1882, 1, p. 41 et seq.

ballads have suffered in various ways in the process of transference, especially the Albano-Gaelic, to such an extent that many stanzas have little, if any, assonance at all.

A shorter line is rarely used in the popular ballads: we meet one in a song of the bard Fergus—

Innis dhuinn, a Fhearghuis,
Fhilidh Feinne *Ei*reann!
Cionnas tharladh dhuinn
An cath Ghabhra nan b*eu*mann.

Tell us, Fergus, singer
Of the Feinne of Ireland,
How it fared us in the fight
Of Gabhra of the blows.

Still shorter lines of four syllables are found in the "Praise of Goll" [56]—

Ard aignedh Ghuill
Fear coguidh Fhinn
Laoch leobhar lonn
'Fhoghail nach tiom.

High-spirited Goll,
Foeman of Finn,
Hero mighty and brave,
Undaunted in the fray.

Although the heroic ballads of the Ossianic epoch, of which Scotland can lay claim to about half-a-hundred, are the subject of many dissertations, and are edited in a variety of settings, yet they were known as a rule only to those conversant with the literature of the Gaelic language, for only a part of them has been translated into English. Accordingly, some information as to their contents and some specimens of their poetry ought to be welcome even to the student of general literature, and are likewise necessary to authoritatively support the statements in this article. Combat and war are the burden of the great bulk of these lays, expeditions and adventures of dangerous emprise, the hostile machinations and opposition of sorcerers and witches, and, not least, hunting and sport. Few of the ballads give us an insight

[56] Apparently Macpherson had this song in his mind when, in Fingal IV. (p. 56, ed. 1762), he speaks of his Battle-Song of Ullin—"It runs down like a torrent, and consists almost entirely of epithets."

into the domestic life of the heroes, whom the legend generally represents as having a wandering, unsettled life, but the almost universal theme is the death of the most outstanding heroes, the subsidence and ruin of the whole tribe, and the joyless old age of Oschin, the last survivor of his race, who celebrates in song the renown of the departed heroes. [57]

As a preliminary to a closer consideration of the authentic Ossianic ballads, we have to deal with some from the mythical era of King Conchobar of Ulster, because Macpherson utilised these for his "Ossian," quite oblivious of the consequent anachronism. The ballad of Fröch the Dragon Slayer, whose usual Gaelic text is substantially that of the version in the Dean's Book, and of which J. Stone, in 1756, issued a long-winded paraphrase in ten-lined stazas, has for its foundation an ancient story in the Book of Leinster (p. 250A), which, however, lacks the tragical denouement so dear to the ballad-writer. Of the other Ultonian ballads preserved in the Dean's Book, "Cuchulinn's Bird-Capture," "The Heads," and "Conlaech," we cannot overlook the last, as it is important in every respect. It rests on the old legend, "Aiged Enfir Aifi," in the Yellow Book of Lecan, and on the "Tochmarc Emere" [translated by K. Meyer in the "Archæological Review," 1, 302.] According to it, the renowned Cuchulinn learned the art of war from a heroine, Sgathach, in the Island of Skye: the mother and her daughter fell in love with the hero, and he espoused the cause of the former in a campaign against the Princess Aife. Her he vanquished, and thereafter she accepted his suit, and bore to him Conla after his return to Ireland. The father himself is said to have laid the strict injunction on Conla that he should not reveal his identity to anybody, that he should not yield to anybody or refuse any challenge; but, according to the ballad, it is the mother who imposed on Conlaech, [58] when he was setting out on an expedition, the concealment of his name and parentage. In strength and dexterity he surpassed all the heroes of Erin, and overcame the best of them, and even his father Cuchulinn, who did not recognise his son, was unable to win any success over him in the customary military tournaments. But at length he mort-

[57] In the mythical cycle of King Arthur there is a ballad which is reminiscent of the Dream of Maxen Wledig in the Mabinogion. Seven versions of it are available—in Sinclair's "Clarsach na Coille" (Glasgow, 1881, p. 263-5); in Campbell's "Leabhar na Féinne" (p. 203); in Gaelic Society, Inverness (9, 67 et seq.); and in Alex. Cameron's "Reliquiæ Celticæ" (1, 368).

[58] From the older form Conla comes "Conlaech" ("Conlaoch")—not "Conmaol" as it stands in the "Journal des Scavants" (1764, p. 851).

ally defeated Conla with the 'gai-bolga' (bag-spear), the efficacy of which he had learned from herself, and is overwhelmed with grief when he discovers, from the lips of the dying warrior and from a ring (the gift of Aife, displayed by him), that he had done to death his own son. I do not regard it as demonstrable that our own ancient ballad of Hildebrand is, as H. D'Arbois Jubainville assumes, [59] a redaction of the Celtic myth; on the contrary, reminiscences of it may be discernible in the later form of the German ballad, though the latter has not the tragical conclusion of the Irish. There the old man says to his son, "Now, tell me, thou much younger man, did a woman teach you this stroke?" and the incident of the ring is thoroughly Irish, and occurs, for instance, in the Battle of Magh-Rath (ed. O'Dunovan, p. 72), while in the later German ballad Hildebrand lets himself be known to his wife by a ring which he drops into his goblet. Now, Macpherson's "Carthon" is only very generally related to the Gaelic ballad; along with other modifications, he goes so far as to make it the father who conceals his own name, and his personages are the creations of his own unrestrained invention, [60] while in a note to the death of Cuchullin he describes Conloch as a good marksman "for his dexterity in handling the javelin." He turns, indeed, the whole story topsy-turvy.

How little Macpherson understood of a Gaelic text is shown more clearly by the use of the ballad "Garw and Cuchulin," the difficulty of which he certainly makes confession in a letter to Maclagan, 1761 (Report App., p. 154). This Albano-Gaelic poem, dating probably to the seventeenth century, tells how Garw, the son of Starn, arrived in Ireland with a powerful fleet to subjugate the land, and, though hospitably received by King Conchar, [61] in Tara (properly 'Emain'), he persists in his hostile intentions, and had, with the assistance of a traitor, Brichni, the famed Thersites of the Ulster Saga, already selected fifty royal sons as hostages, when Cuchulin challenged him and killed him after a protracted combat.

[59] "L' Epopée Celtique en Irlande," 1, p. xxxiii. et seq. (1892).

[60] For *Cuchullin* Macpherson substitutes "Clessammor" (a form recurring in the apocryphal ballads of Kennedy and Smith), which was probably manufactured after the *Cu nan cleas* (Cuchulinn versed in feats) of the ballad, and while Conlaech's or Carthon's mother is called Mcina by him in Fingal (p. 18, ed. 1762). Conlaech's mother, left forsaken in the Isle of Mist (*Eilean a' cheo* or Skye), is quite arbitrarily called Bragéla.

[61] The text gives wrongly "Conall" along with the spurious filiation "Mac Eidirsgeoil" already met with in the Dean's Book.

Eirich, a righ [26] na Teamhra!
Chi mi 'n loingeas dolabhradh,
Lomlàn nan cuan clannach
Do longaibh nan allmharach.

'S breugach thu, dhorsair gu buadh, [63]
'S breugach thu 'n diù 's gach aon uair!
'S e th' ann loingeas mor nam Magh
'S e teachd chagainn d'ar cobhair.

Arise, King of Tara!
Countless ships do I see!
Myriads on the billowy sea
Of ships of the strangers.

Thou liest, worthy door-guard,
False to-day as ever;
For from Magh-Land comes the fleet,
To our assistance comes.

These lines, which were utilised later by Macpherson for the opening of "Fingal," were given by him in the "Fragments," II., No. 14, in the following garb:—"Rise, Cuchalaid, rise! I see the ships of Garve. Many are the foe, Cuchalaid; many the sons of Lochlyn." "Moran! thou ever tremblest; thy fears increase the foe. They are the ships of the Desert of hills arrived to assist Cuchalaid." Garw, the son of Starn, later called Swaran by Macpherson, is besides quite a mythical personality sprung from the legend of the most far back colonists of Ireland. In the Book of Leinster, p. 127A, we read—"co tancatur clanna Stairn assin Greic uathmair aegairb" (Starno's sons have come from the terribly savage Greece), [64] and it is noteworthy that the ballad has preserved the same words—

[62] A variant is *a chu*, hence Macpherson's Cuchulaid as he writes for his later form, Cuchullin. The name reads properly Cuchulaind or Cuchulainn.

[63] The texts give *gu muadh*, which stands for Irish *go mbuadh*. In H. Maclean's text in the Ultonian Hero-ballads there are certain phrases which are open to objection, *e.g.*, Sta. 3, *gun ealla* instead of *gun fheall;* Sta. 5, *gun fhail* instead of *gun fhoil* (without guile); Sta. 7, *sonn catha na cloin Teamhrach* means "the Battle-hero of the sloping Tara" (cf. *Teagasc flatha* Sta. 15); Sta. 12, *dronnadh cheud* for *pronn cheud* (a meal for a hundred), *gun uirich* for *gun fhuireadh*, *Esraidh* for *Easruaidh*, &c., &c.

[64] Similarly in the Book of Fenagh, p. 50—Co ticc clann in miled Sdairn asin Greg uallach ngairb.

Ma 's e 'n Garbh mac Stairn a th' ann
O'n Ghreig uamharraidh ro-ghairg,
Bheir e leis ar geill thair muir
A dh' aindeoin fhear nam fiann.

If it be Garw, the son of Starn,
From Greece, the terribly fierce,
He will take our hostages over sea
In spite of the Fenian men.

Still another passage echoes the old text, thus:—

Fearghus mac Rossa mac Raigh,
'N laoch a b' airde dh' fhearaibh Fail,
Cha b' airde Fearghus astigh
Na 'n Garbh mac Stairn 'na shuidhe.

Fergus, son of Rossa, son of Roy,
The tallest hero of Fail,
Was no higher in the house
Than Garw, Starn's son, when sitting.

Fergus was, indeed, a colossal man, and a mighty eater, as we learn from Professor Windisch's recension of the text from LL. 106B (Texte II., 1, 210). Macpherson was acquainted with this hero—note, "Fergus, first in our joy at the feast! son of Rossa! arm of death" (Fingal 1, 181). Cét mac Matach, also another knight of the Craeb Ruaid, i.e., the Palace of the Red Tree,[65] appears in the ballad; but we also meet with names such as Cailte and Cormac, which belong to the legendary cycle of Finn. Macpherson had the ballad in view in his "Fingal" 1, 70 et seq., where he writes for "mac mhic Chairbre o'n chraoibh ruaidh" (the grandson of Cairbre of the Red Tree), "Cairbar from thy red tree of Cromla"; for Aodh mac Gharadh a' ghluin ghil" (Adh, the son of Garadh of the White Knee), "Bend thy knee, O Eth"; for "Caoilte ro-gheal mac Ronain, Fear-dian taobh-gheal (Cailte, white-shining, son of Ronan, and Ferdian of the White Side), "Caolt, stretch thy side as thou movest along the whistling heath of Mora."

A Gaelic poem on the war-chariot of Cuchulinn, with its two steeds—of which edited versions are given by J. Grant, the Brothers MacCallum, in the Report (App., p. 204, et seq.), and by J. Macdonald (Gael. Soc., Inverness, 13, 288)—is founded on

[65] See Windisch, Irische Texte, p. 100 et seq.

corresponding passages in Middle-Irish tales.[66] Macpherson's description in "Fingal" 1, 345, diverges greatly; so also does Cuchulinn's fight with Ferdia in his "Fingal" 2, 377, from the Gaelic prose-tale from which he drew.

The ballad of Deirdri—the wife, or, according to others, the betrothed, of King Conchobar (Conchar)—who was abducted by her lover, Naischi, and his brothers, the three sons of Usnech, and who after their murder committed suicide over the grave of the brothers, is a product from two Middle-Irish tales, "The Banishment of the Sons of Usnech" and "The Death of the Sons of Usnech." The same is the source of a modern Gaelic tale to which reference is made in a poem dating from the beginning of the 18th century (Sinclair, The Gaelic Bards 2, 100). The tale was picked up in the island of Barra in 1867, and was published later (in Transactions Gael. Soc., Inverness, 1, 45 et seq., 13, 241 etseq.), though not without factitious admixture of book learning.[67] In this tradition we find the name of the heroine, Dearduil, from which Macpherson invented his Darthula, and the ballad shows a considerable departure in details from the version of the various stories. Macpherson's story is entirely his own fanciful creation, and he goes so far as to ignore the suicide of Deirdri. It is depicted in the ballad as follows:—

Shìn i 'n sin a taobh r'a thaobh
Agus chuir i beul r'a bheul
Is ghabh i 'n sgian gheur 'na cridhe
'S dh' fhuair i 'm bàs gun aithreachas.

[66] See Windisch's Texte, p. 310 (—L.U., 122a); O'Curry, Manners 3, 428 (—LL. 83a); E. O'Reilly, Essay, p. 220 (from the *Brisleach Mhuighe Mhuirtheimhne*). In the name of one of the horses in Fingal 1, 345, Sulin-Sifadda, several of Macpherson's defenders, such as Macnaughton, Jerram, and Nicolson (Proverbs, p. 141), find evidence that in writing the name so he had before him the Gaelic "original" of 1807—*'S bu luath 'shiubhal, Sithfada b'e 'ainm* (swift was his pace, Sithfada was his name), as the appellation Sulin-Sifadda was wrongly compounded out of the real name *Sithfada* (long-pace) and the preceding word *Shiubhal* (his step). Very likely!! Macpherson's Sulin-Sifadda seems rather to have been made up from *suoi-oileanda sioth-fhada* (well-bred, far-springing), after the reading in the Report App., p. 204). The correct name of the one horse is *Liath-mhaiseach* (in Irish, *Liath-macha*), while the other, called by Macpherson Dusronnal, *i.e.*, *Dubh sròngneal*, is in Gaelic *Dubh-sronnhor* or *Dubh-seimhinn* (in the Dean's Book, No. 49, *Dow-seywlin*), and in Irish, *Dubh-fhaclind*.

[67] Thus it gives the word *lingeantuch* (Inv. 13, 251), formed from the faulty reading, *Alba cona lingantaibh* (Rep. App., p. 298), instead of *co n-a hingantaib* (Irische Texte II., 2, 127).

Side by side with him she lay,
And fixed her lips to his,
And drove the sharp knife to her heart,
And died without regret.

The ballad is translated in Hector Maclean's volume, and the prose tales in that of D'Arbois de Jubainville.

The whole foregoing ballads of the Ulster mythical period are not properly Ossianic, but long before Macpherson it was forgotten in Scotland that they deal with a time almost three hundred years before that of Finn Mac Cuwal. Even the Gaelic ballads which bear the name of Ossian are disfigured by marked anachronisms, and so it happens that many of those which I treated first have for their historical background the invasion of the Lochlanns or Norwegians, the national calamity which visited Ireland in the period between the ninth and eleventh centuries. One of the most widely known of the ballads refers to Magnus Berfaeta, son of Olaf, son of Aralt, the Norwegian King, who overran with war the Western Islands in 1090.[68] He then landed in Ulster, attacked and plundered Dublin, and then made for Connaught, but at last he lost his life in a fray ('ar crech'), and his fleet thereupon returned home. This ballad, traditionally preserved both in England and Scotland, and probably of 17th century origin, is, as a poem of Ossian, addressed to St Patrick, and is prefaced by the following stanzas:—

A ghleirich a chanas na sailm,
air leam fein gur borb do chiall;
nach eisd thu tamull ri sgeul
air an fheinn nach fhac thu riamh?—

Air mo chubhais-sa, mhic Fhinn,
ge binn leat teachd air an fheinn,
fuaim nan salm air feadh mo bheoil
gur e sud is ceol domh fein.—

Na bi tu comhadadh do shalm
ri fiannachd Eirinn nan arm nochd!
a ghleirich, gur lan olc leam
nach sgarainn do cheann ri d' chorp.—

[68] The Scalds, or old Scandinavian poets, celebrate this campaign (v. Vigfusson and Powell, Corpus poeticum boreale 2, 244). Cf. also Zeitschriff für deutsches Altertum 35, 32.

Sin fui d' chomraich-sa, fhir mhoir,
laoidh do bheoil gur binn leam fein;
togbhar leatsa sealan ann,
bu bhinn leam teachd air an fheinn.—

Nam biodh tu, a chleirich chaidh,
air an tragh tha siar fa dheas
ag Eas Laighean [69] nan sruth seimh,
air an fheinn bu mhor do mheas.

The poet goes on to recount how King Magnus of Lochlann arrived with a powerful fleet, and demands, as a token of submission, through the bard Fergus, who had gone to meet him, nothing less than the wife of King Finn (Fingal), and his favourite dog, Bran. [70] Finn's answer is—

Chaoidh cha tugainnse mo bhean
do dh' aon neach ata fo 'n ghrein,
's cha mhò bheir mi Bran gu brath,
gus an teid am bàs 'na bheul.

After the heroes of the Feinne have, in full expectation of victory, arranged among themselves respectively combats with the individual Scandinavian princes, [71] Finn says—

"Beiribh beannachd 's beiribh buaidh!"
thuirt mac Cumhaill nan gruaidh dearg,
"Magnus mac Mheatha nan sluagh
coisgear leam, ge mor a fhearg."

[69] Instead of Nàs Laighean, a place in County Kildare (Oss. 4, 48). From the erroneous variants *Eas Laoighaire*, *Laoire*, have sprung "Lora" and Macpherson's "Battle of Lora," as he calls another of his poems.

[70] Macpherson's setting of Swaran's challenge to Cuchullin is "Give thy spouse and dog" (Fingal 2, 183). As a matter of fact, Magnus sent his shoes to the Irish King, Murtcertach, with the behest that the King should place them on his shoulders in the presence of the messengers. He obeyed, according to some; according to others, he declined.

[71] This is reproduced with tolerable fidelity by Macpherson in Fingal 4, 382-97. He renders the last stanza—"Blest and victorious be my chiefs, said Fingal of the mildest look. Swarar, king of the roaring waves, thou art the choice of Fingal." Compare, Battle of Magh Leana, ed. O'Curry, p. 114, &c. The Connal mentioned by Macpherson is wanting in the authentic texts, but a strophe dealing with this personage is incorporated in the Gillies edition of the ballads.

Next morning the Lochlanns advance, and the Féinne move to meet them—

Thog sinn Dealbh ghreine ri crann, [72]
bratach Fhinn bu gharg an treas,
's i lomlan do chlochaibh 'n or,
againne bu mhor a meas.

The Féinnes' expectations are realised, and the Lochlanns are scattered in flight—

Thachair mac Cumhaill nan cuach
agus Maghnus nan ruag aigh
ri cheil' an tuiteam an tsluaigh,
's a chleirich, bu chruaidh an dail.

Gu'm bu sud an tuirlin teann
mar dheann a bheireadh dà ord, [73]
cath fuileachdach an dà righ,
gu'm bu ghuineach brigh an oolg.

Air briseadh do 'n sgiathaibh dearg
's air eirigh d'am feirg is fraoch,
thilg iad an airm sios gu lar
's chaidh iad an spairn an dà laoch.

Nuair a thoiseach stri nan triath
's ann leinne bu chian an clos;
bha clachan agus talamh trom
a mosgladh fo bhonn an cos.

[72] Only in this solitary line does the Gaelic "Ossian" of 1807 (Fingal 4 300) agree with the ballad. But in Macpherson, and generally in the more modern Gaelic texts, Fingal's famed banner is called *deo-ghreine* (Fingal 1, 647; 2, 239; Cb., 76; Macintyre, p. 204), is wrongly interpreted *sunbeam*, and in this sense the word is used by modern poets (Smith, Sean dàna, p. 41; Munroe, An t-Ailleagan, p. 41). The Dean's Book gives the correct name, *dalwe zreynith*, "the image of the sun." Among the Irish the banner is also *geal greine* (Brooke, Relics 1, p. 275), or *gal greine* (Relics 2, p. 408; O'Flanagan, Deirdri, p. 77—therefore the same also in Moore's Irish Melodies), or *gath greine* (O'Flanagan, p. 237), or *gile greine* (Walsh, Irish Popular Songs, p. 58; also Cb. 197a, 107a).

[73] Macpherson has imitated this combat in his Fingal, p. 62, ed. 1762—Fingal 5, 42-62, "There was clang of arms! there every blow like the hundred hammers of the furnace! Terrible is the battle of kings, and horrid the look of their eyes. . . . They fling their weapons down. Each rushes to his hero's grasp. . . . But when the pride of their strength arose, they shook the hill with their heels," and so on.

Leagadh righ Lochlainn an aigh
am fiadhnuis chaich air an fhraoch
's airsan, ge nach b' onair righ,
chuireadh ceangal nan tri chaol. [74]

Sin nuair labhair Conan maol
mac Morna, bha riamh ri holc:
" Cumar rium Maghnus nan lann,
gu'n sgarainn a cheann ri chorp!"

" Chan 'eil agam cairdeas na caomh
riutsa, Chonain mhaoil gun fhalt;
o tharladh mi 'n grasaibh Fhinn,
's annsa leam na bhi fo d' smachd."

" O tharladh thu m' ghrasaibh fein,
chan iomair mi beud air flath,
fuasglaidh mi thusa o m' fheinn,
a lamh threun a chuir mor chath.

" 'S gheibh thu do roghainn aris.
nuair a theid thu do d' thir fein,
cairdeas is comunn do ghnath
no do lamh a chur fo 'n fheinn."

" Cha chuir mi fa d' fheinn mo lamh,
'n cian a mhaireas cail am chorp,
cha toir mi buill' ad aghaidh, Fhinn,
's aithreach leam na rinn mi ort."

The perfidy of King Magnus, an accretion to this ballad from the popular legend (Campbell, Tales 3, 364 et seq.), has been embodied in his text by Kennedy in verses of his own composition. But there is a separate ballad regarding an expedition of Finn to Lochlan, undertaken on a treacherous invitation to him by King Magnus to set his daughter free, to whose courage alone it was due that the Féinne escaped the annihilation devised for them. [75] For Macpherson's story of the fictitious Agandecca (Fingal 3, 14 et seq.), there does not seem to be any other basis, and the ballad which speaks of a sea voyage only in a late recension (Campbell's P.) has been imperfectly transmitted, and doubtless referred

[74] That is, the wrist, ankle, and neck-joint. Sometimes five "narrows" are counted.

[75] The Book of Howth (sixteenth century) recognised the ballad. See Hammer's Chronicle, p. 31, ed. 1809.

originally only to an expedition to Leinster (' Laighean leathan '), and not at all to Lochlan.

The very well-known ballad of Ergan—another King of Lochlan—who came to Ireland to avenge the abduction of his spouse by one of the Fèinne, called the " Teanndachd mhor na Fèinne " (the great distress of the Fèinne), originate, at the latest, in the beginning of the 17th century.[76] It furnished Macpherson with the material for his " Battle of Lora," but it is not necessary to indicate in detail the superficial way in which he made use of it, as Frau Talvj has provided us with a striking illustration of this in her publication founded on the translation of her contemporary, Young. One example, however, may be allowed. Among the presents offered by the Irish King's daughter to the King of Lochlan by way of atonement, Macpherson mentions—" A hundred girdles shall be thine to bind high-bosomed women; the friends of the births of heroes, and the cure of the sons of toil." In the later edition he turns ' women ' to ' maids,' which is certainly no improvement. Moreover, there is not the faintest support in the words of the ballad for the " sanctified girdles " on which he so learnedly dilates—

Gheabhadh tu sud is ceud crios,
cha teid slios mu'n teid iad bàs,
chaisgeadh iad leathtrom is sgios,
leug riomhach nam bucal[77] bàn.

In another ballad, dealt with by Alex. Cameron in the " Scottish Celtic Review," 1885, the mythical narrative of the Mulertach[78] is linked with a campaign against the Lochlanns. From the Kingdom of Lochlan comes to Erin's coast a female monster, who summons the Féinne to fight. Finn overcomes and kills her, and the King of Lochlan comes to Ireland with a mighty

[76] The argument of the Irish ballad has been published by W. Halliday in his Grammar of the Gaelic Language, 1808, p. 132.

[77] *Bucal, bucail*, is the English " buckle "—e.g., Sinclair, The Gaelic Bards 1, 153; 2, 149; also in Irish, *bucladha bròg*, shoe-bucles, Hardiman 1, 338; *buclaidh*, Merriman, Vs, 371; *buclaoi*, Vs, 391.

[78] *Muileartach*, or *Muireartach* (masc. gen. in only a few texts), appears to import " terrible phantom." Cf. Campbell, The Fians, p. 69; Mackenzie, Beauties, p. 286b; W. Ross, Poems, p. 32, ed. 1877. The Irish annals of about 900 a.d. mention a monstrous mermaid which came to the coast of Scotland: cf. Stokes, Book of Lismore, p. xlii. Of warrior maidens and witches there are stories elsewhere: cf. Todd, Wars of the Gaedhil with the Gall, p. 40; Silva Gadelica, p. 309.

fleet to avenge the death of his kinswoman, the Mulertach. As he rejects the rich presents Finn tenders him, the Féinne, with their banners flying, advance to give him battle,[79] and at Benn-Edir (the Hill of Howth) the King's forces are to a man annihilated, and he himself is slain by Oscar, the son of Finn. The ballad is not of great age, and is not, it appears, known to the Irish. Macpherson was also ignorant of it, or passed it by as of too barbaric type.

The more common subject of the Ossianic poems is the fights against individual powerful heroes who came to the Irish coast, and generally they came from Lochlan, as the world of the bard is small. Among them are "Derg," "Conn," "the savage Maihre," "Illan, the Prince of Spain," and others. To this category belongs an old familiar Irish poem, of probably the 16th century,[80] the Ballad of Dearg, the son of Drewil, who came out of Lochlan to Ireland, and after defeating two hundred warriors of King Cormac and an equal number of auxiliary Féinne, is killed by Goll. That ascribed to the minstrel, Fergus, has a perceptible propriety in its description of the action and its concomitants, and is accordingly honoured in the Scottish Gaelic proverb (Nicolson, Proverbs, p. 189, 414) as the masterpiece of its class. Better known in Scotland is a ballad edited by Young, the Ballad of Conn, the son of Derg, which seems to be a redaction of the Irish one of the same name, and took form also among the Gaels of Scotland probably at the end of the 17th century. Conn, a more redoubtable hero than his father, came, it says, to Ireland to obtain satisfaction from the Féinne for his death. The minstrel, Fergus, goes to meet him to find out his intentions, and the hero answers—

"Innseam-sa sin duit gu beachd,
Fhearghuis, agus buin e leat,
eirig m' athar b' aill leam uaibhse,
o'r mathaibh 's o'r mor uaislibh.

"Ceann Fhinn is a dhà mhic mhoir,
Ghuill, Chriomhthainn agus Gharadh,
's cinn chlann Morna gu huile
fhaotainn an eirig aon duine.

[79] The enumeration of the banners of the Fenian Chiefs belongs, to judge from the rhyme formation, to this ballad, and not to that of Magnus or Ergan.

[80] La guerre ou la descente de Dearg, fils de Diric, roi de Lochlin, in the Journal des Scavants, 1764, p. 847 et seq., mentions it. The poem is edited and translated by the MacCallums, but is falsified throughout.

" No Eirinn o thuinn gu tuinn
a gheillachdainn do m'aon chuing,
no coig ceud d' ur fine 'maireach
gu comhrag mear diobhalach."

Fergus brings back the serious news, and the story goes on—

'S e thuirt coig ceud d'ar fine:
" Caisgidh sinn a luath mhire!"
Cha robh sud doibh mar a radh
ri dol anns an iomarbhaigh.

Ri faicsinn doibh confhadh Chuinn
mar onfhadh mara le tuinn
agus falachd an fhir mhoir
an coinneamh athar a dhioladh;

'S e thuirt Conan maol mac Morn:
" Leigear mi thuige cheud oir!
's gu'm buininn an ceann amach
do Chonn dimeasach uaibhreach."

" Marbhaisg ort, a Chonain mhaoil!
nach sguir thu do d'lonan chaoidh?
cha bhuineadh tu 'n ceann do Chonn!"
'S e thuirt Osgar nam mor ghlonn.

Ach ghluais Conan le mhicheill
dh' aindeoin na feinne gu leir
an comhdhail Chuinn bhuadhaich bhrais
mar char-tuathal m' a aimhleas.

Nuair chonnairc Conn bu chaoin dealbh
Conan a dol an sealbh arm,
thug e sitheadh air an daoi,
's e teicheadh dhachaidh gu falbh uaith.

'S iomadh cnap is bailc is meall
bha 'g atadh suas air droch ceann
air maol Chonan gu reamhar,
's a chroig caoil 'san aon cheangal.

'S iomadh sgread is iolach chruaidh
bh' ag Conan am fiadhnuis an taluaigh
bu luaithe na fuaim tuinn' a teachd,
's an fhiann uile 'ga eisdeachd.

"Beannachd air an laimh rinn sin!"
's e labhair Fionn a' chruth ghil,
"gu ma turus dhuit gun eirigh,
a Chonain dhona mhicheillidh!"

But when it comes to close quarters, Conn's superiority is conspicuous. He causes great devastation among the Féinne, none of whom was his equal. At this critical juncture Finn pleads with Goll, the most valiant of the tribe of Morna, to close with Conn—

'N sin chaidh Goll 'na chulaidh chruaidh
ann am fiadhnuis a' mhor shluaigh,
's gu'm bu gheal 's dearg gnuis an fhir
'na thorc garg dol 'n tus iorghaill.

An dà churaidh bu gharbh cith
chuir iad an tulach air bhall-chrith
le 'm beumannaibh bu leoir meud
's bha 'n fhiann uile 'g an coimhead.

Cith fola do chnamhaibh an corp,
cith teine do 'n armaibh nochd,
cith cailce do 'n sgiathaibh 'n aigh
dol siar anns na iarmailtibh.

So they fought into the night, and when the flood came down, and the clouds lowered, elves came out of the mountains, wondering and delighting. At the end of a long struggle Conn falls, but Goll has received wounds from which he takes a long time to recover.

Gair eibhinn gu 'n d' rinn an fhiann
nach d'rinneadh leo roimhe riamh
ri faicinn doibh Ghuill mhic Morna
an uachdar air Conn treun-toireach.

Naoi raidhean do Gholl an aigh
'g a leigheas mu'n robh e slan,
ag eisdeachd ceoil dh' oidhch' 's do la
's a pronnadh oir fo throm-dhaimh.

Neither of the ballads just referred to were used by Macpherson, but "Maihre" and "Illan" were, and they have a similar relation to one another. "Maighre-borb," edited and translated by Alex. Cameron in the "Scottish Celtic Review,"

1882, is an ancient poem, which is found both in the Dean's Book and in the Irish. Once upon a time Finn, the son of Cuwal, with a small retinue, was staying at Esroy, when a royal maiden, daughter of the King of Wave-land, landed from her skiff, and implored him for protection against a knight of the name of Maihre-borb, the Prince of Sorcha. Straightway her persecutor presents himself on horseback, and tries to take her away, but, after a desperate combat, he is slain by Goll, and is buried on the spot, with a ring on each finger as a token of regal dignity. The maid remains with the Féinne as Finn's wife for the space of a year. By the 'tir fa thuinn' (the land under the waves), which later poets use as a name for the nether-world (Hardiman 2, 231: Cb. 160A), is meant a fable-land overwhelmed by the sea (cf. e.g. Silva Gad., p. 268), and in this submerged world lies the country of the hero Sorcha, properly the 'Land of Light'—another attribute of the 'Land of Promise.' So we meet it in the Middle-Irish texts, e.g., Windisch, p. 219; LL. 77B, 19; Silva Gad., p. 269, 300. The Battle of Illan is an Albanogaelic imitation of the "Maihre," of about the seventeenth century, and depicts the advent among the Féinne of a beautiful maiden, who had come over the ocean-plain to seek refuge with Finn against Illan, the son of the King of Spain. Her persecutor appears on the scene, attacks the Féinne, and kills, along with many of them, the maiden herself, but he himself falls in combat with Oscar, the son of Oschin. The tale is narrated by Oschin to Patrick, the son of Alpin, and begins thus—

Oisin uasail, a mhic Fhinn,
's tu ad shuidhe air 'n tulaich eibhinn,
a laoch mhoir mhilidh nach meata,
gu'm faic mise bron air th' inntinn.

Cuid do dh' aobhar mo bhroin fein,
a chleirich, ma's aill leat, eisd:
chunnairc mi uair teaghlach Fhinn,
bha e mear mor meadhrach eibhinn.

This more modern ballad was translated by Macpherson in the "Fragments" of 1760, p. 26 et seq., in his own style—"Son of the noble Fingal, Oscian, prince of men! What tears run down the cheeks of age? What shades the mighty soul?"—"Memory, son of Alpin, memory wounds the aged, of former times are my thoughts; my thoughts are of the mighty Fingal." In "Fingal" (Bk. 3, p. 45, ed. 1762) both ballads were amalgamated and con-

founded in the story of the "Maid of Craca" (probably instead of 'Greig,' as one text gives it—not 'creag,' for 'carraig,' rock, as J. Smith and Alex. Campbell assert), and in this arbitrary composition of Macpherson's Fingal slays Borbar (Maighre-Borb), the Chief of Sora (Sorcha) and the persecutor of Faineasollis, who is represented as arriving by ship. Similar to the ballads regarding the hunted maiden is the Irish one on Tailc mac Treoin, first published by O'Flanagan, and the tale of Bebind in the Agallamh (Silva Gad., p. 211; Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum 33, 269 et seq.).

I pass over some ballads on the martial adventures of the Féinne, such as the Exploits of the Nine and the Six, the Death of Diring, [81] and others, of which only recensions of the eighteenth century are available. There are also several, of pretty modern origin, on witches and sorcerers. The spell of Roc, a wicked runner of the Court of King Cormac, could be broken only by his being overtaken in the race, and Finn himself overtook him at Esroy, and put him to death (Cb. 64B). Lon, the smith of the King of Lochlan, in Berwe, is the Wieland of Gaelic legend, and a ballad brought to light by Campbell in his "Tales" recounts how the one-footed Lon once on a day led Finn and his seven companions to his sequestered smithy, and there forged for them all eight magnificent swords. Thereupon Finn was chosen by lot to fetch a human being, in whose blood the swords were to be tempered. He fetches the mother of the unearthly artificer, who at once drives the seven blades through her body. But with the weapon prepared for him Finn pierces the smith himself, and so tempered is his own wonderful sword thereby that thereafter it could not be stayed in its stroke, and left not a scrap of human flesh behind. As the "Son of Lon" [82] it has a highly-renowned place in mythical story. This poem, which is ascribed to Oschin, is native to Scotland, and is not ancient.

[81] "Dering" is the name in the Dean's Book, 26, 14; "Diorraing," Oss. 2, 120; "Duibhrinn," Silva Gad., p. 100; "Dàira," Oss. 6, 22; in the later Scottish texts, "Diurag," "Diarag" (Ch. 219; Cam. 1, 398; Ch. 112; Invern. 13, 297).

[82] Cf. Nicolson, Gaelic Proverbs, p. 95, 388; Alex. Macdonald, Poems, p. 98; Co. 180, and in the Irish; Oss. 3, 90; Texte II., 2, 144. Macpherson is correct in his "That sword is by his side which gives no second wound" (Temora 1, 70), but there is likewise the very surprising statement on "Luno" in Temora, p. 120, ed. 1763. It is, however, probable, that *Mac an Luin* had its origin in the *luin Celtchair*, the spear of Celtchair, a hero under King Conchobar; cf. Hennessy, Mesca Ulad, p. xiv. et seq. In the Agallamh Finn's side-sword is called Craebghlasach (Silva Gad., p. 142).

Of the hunting ballads—of which more have been preserved in Ireland than in Scotland—the most celebrated is the great hunt on the "Mountains of the Fair-Haired Women," in County Tipperary. Its oldest text is that of the Dean's Book, and it reminds us of Bede's description of Ireland: "Hibernia dives lactis ac mellis insula . . . cervorum venatu insignis."

Do leigeamar tri mile cu
a b'fhearr luth 's a bha garg;
mharbh gach cu dhiùbh sin dà fhiadh
seal fa 'n deachaidh an iall na hard.

Ioghnadh 's mò a chunnacas riamh
no chuala fiann Innse-Fail,
gu d' mharbh Bran is e 'na chulein
fiadh agus uibhir ri each.

This ballad was known to Macpherson. In "Fingal" 6, 350, he 'translates' the two stanzas, of which the second, at least, was taken from the Kennedy text, as follows:—"A thousand dogs fly off at once, gray bounding through the heath. A deer fell by every dog, three by the white-breasted Bran." In another passage he speaks of the 'hairy-footed' Bran (Temora 6, 296). This renowned favourite of Finn, whose victory over a powerful 'black dog' of Innistorc (Orkney) is depicted in another ballad (translated by Macdougall),[83] was thrashed to death with a brazen-buckled strap by one of the Féinne in a tussle, and was mourned with great grief by his master. The poem which describes him has been edited by Hill—

Casa buidhe bha ag Bran,
dà shlios dhubha is tarr geal,
druim uaine mu'n iathadh an tsealg,[84]
dà chluais chorracha chro-dhearg.

Bu mhath e thabhunn dobhrain duinn,
is cha mheas e thoirt eisg a habhainn,
gu'm b'fhearr Bran a mharbhadh bhroc
na coin an talmhainn a thainig.

[83] A poem in LL. 207b, 5, tells of a celebrated dog of the King of Norway; against it no adversary prevailed. It shone like a torch in the night, and turned into mead or wine the water in which it bathed (cf. Silva Gad., p. 206).

[84] Text uncertain: cf. D. Mackintosh, Proverbs, 1785, p. 55; O'Flanagan, Deirdri, p. 215; and Caraid nan Gaidheal, ed. Clerk, p. 347; Nicolson, Proverbs, p. 347.

Among the later ballads special to Scotland we can also count the two adventures of Cailte, the son of Ronan, the fleetest, we are told, of all the Féinne. The first, describing a boar hunt, begins—

Latha dhuinne sealg nan Cluanan
do dh' Fhionn is do mhor shluagh
dh' eirich romhainn air an leirg
aon mhuc dhisgearnach dhonna-dhearg.

Leig sinn ar sè lomhainn deug
ris a' mhuic agus ni'm breug,
chuir a' mhuc dith air ar conaibh,
is dh' fhag i ar sealg gun deanamh.

Finn thereupon offers, as a reward for the destruction of the dire boar—"a reward he never again offered"—a wife to be freely chosen from among the wives of the Féinne. Cailte overtakes the charmed beast, slays it with the help of his good fairy, and becomes entitled to the wife of Finn, the wise Alwe, or an immense ransom instead of her (cf. Silva Gad., p. 114). The story of the other ballad of Cailte tells how the Féinne, overtaken in the chase by a sudden storm, wander further and further astray, and at last send out Cailte in search of a path. In a remote solitary dwelling he discovers the daughter of a king, and frees her from the durance of a giant, whom he slays after a stout fight (cf. Silva Gad., p. 136). The "Lament for Dearg," who, according to the myth, was killed by a boar, is a short Albanogaelic poem in the style of the Irish 'caoinan' (keening), and professes to be recited by his widow. It dates from the eighteenth century, and deserves mention here because Macpherson, in a note to his "Calthon and Colmal" (p. 223 et seq., ed. 1762), gives a very free paraphrase of it.

In the Ossianic poetry, women, as a rule, play no important rôle. The poem on Oschin's courtship, which Macpherson has rendered with unusual fidelity, [85] and interwoven in his "Fingal" 4, 13-74, with great art, is, in the form published by Young, not of ancient origin, and is a conglomeration of two incongruous texts. The primitive text is embodied in the legends, and Sir Geo. Mackenzie has some older stanzas. The old ballad of the Mantle (Cam. 1, 76, 116) does not afford us a high conception of the modesty of the wives of the Fenian heroes: it is, however,

[85] The Gaelic of 1807, translated of course, from the English, is quite different from the ballad text, e.g., *Daire nan creuchda* ("Durra of wounds") becomes *Dùra nan lot.*

only the Gaelic setting of the fable of the "Badly-Cut Mantle." A poem, "Sgeul uaigneach," in the Dean's Book, which might justly be called "the sweetest music," may be ranked with the best of the Ossianic. Its interpretation is not yet, however, quite settled. While Conan finds his delight in the sound of the dice, Oscar in the bloody fray, MacLuhach in the chase, Finn in the fluttering of his heroes' banners (cf. Oss. 2, 136), and Oschin in song, Dermid—the "Women's Dermid," as he was called—thus declares himself—

> "Ceol is mò rugas da raoghainn,"
> do radh Diarmaid nan dearc mall,
> "a ro-ghraidh, cian ge beo dhomhsa,
> comhradh bhan is annsa ann."

Dermid, the son of Oduhne, was not one of the foremost heroes, but he was the most beautiful, and at the sight of a love-mark on his brow every woman became violently enamoured of him. So it happened that also Grainne, Finn's consort, daughter of King Cormac, fell in love with Dermid, and tempted him to elope with her. Their long and devious wanderings form the subject of an Irish tale, and some older verses on the same have been worked up by Kennedy into ballad form—"Is moch a ghoireas a' chòrr" (Early screeches the crane). Another ballad of Oschin to Patrick relates how Dermid was once on a day discovered in the forest of Newry concealed in in a mountain-ash, under which Finn sat playing draughts, and was rescued from death only by the timely intervention of his friends, especially Oscar. Day and night Finn nurses revenge, and at last he cunningly invites Dermid to Mount Gulbun to join in the hunt of a terrible boar. Regardless of the warning of Grainne, Dermid accepts the invitation. He encounters the boar, against which the others will not dare to advance, and when, in obedience to the orders of Finn, he was measuring the dead animal by pacing along its back against the bristles, a poisonous point enters his foot, and he dies in misery, while his adversary declines to reach him the antidote he holds in his hands. The ballad of the death of the Gaelic Adonis is given in the Dean's Book, and by it the later texts, as also that translated in Campbell's Tales, have been influenced. It is of pure Scottish origin,[86] but the legend itself

[86] The Dukes of Argyll trace their genealogical tree to Diarmaid O'Duibhne, and bear the boar's head on their coat-of-arms—*ceann na muice fiadhaiche a leag Diarmad sa choill ùdlaidh* (Macintyre, p. 125). But, as Skene shows (Celtic Scotland 3, 459), another O'Duibhne is in question.

is ancient, for in the "Lebor na huidre" of the eleventh century there is a verse of a poem in which Grainne avows her passion for Dermid (Revue Celtique 11, 126)—

> One man there is
> Whom long I love to behold,
> For whom I would give the wide world.
> Treachery it is, right through and through.

Of ominous consequence to the Féinne was the old feud between the tribes of Baischgne and Morna. According to a poem in the Dean's Book, which has up to our own century been pretty completely preserved, though somewhat changed, Finn's father, Cuwal, once started a bitter persecution of the tribe of Morna, banished many of them, and put many to death. They set their mind on vengeance, subjected him to the dalliance of a daughter of the clan, and fell upon him when sleeping. [87] The story is thus told to the son of Cuwal, who had not known his father, by Garadh, a veteran warrior—

> "Thug sinn 'n sin ruith nach robh mall
> gus an tigh an robh Cumhall,
> chuir sinn guin ghoirt gach fear
> ann an corp Chumhaill d'a shleagh.
>
> "Bheucadh e mar gum biodh mart ann,
> 's raoiceadh e mar gu'm biodh torc ann,
> 's ge nach b'onair e 'mhac righ,
> bhramadh Cumhall mar ghearran.
>
> "Sin agads', Fhinn mhic Chumhaill,
> beagan do sgeulaibh mu d'athair
> gun fhuath, gun fhalachd o shin,
> gun eisiomail, gun urram."
>
> "Ge nach d'rugadh mise ann
> ri linn Chumhaill nan geur lann,
> an gniomh a rinn sibh gu taireil
> diolaidh mis' orr' an aon la e."

The decadence of the Féinne seems to date, according to the Albanogaelic myth, from the death of Dermid. Soon thereafter Carril, the youngest son of Finn, succumbed to the more powerful

[87] From a tale in the *Lebor na huidhre*, 41b, we rather gather that Cuwa was killed in the Battle of Cnucha by Goll, who himself lost an eye there.

Goll, with whom he had come to blows at a carousal about the hero's portion (curadh-mhìr). The real ballad on this episode is that published by Stone and Macnicol, but better known is Kennedy's poem, published in the Report as Ossianic, though afterwards claimed by the composer as his own—"on honour . . . entirely my own," he writes to P. Graham (Essay, p. 218). As a specimen, we give here the opening lines—

An Tigh-Teamhra nan cruit chiuil
air dhuinne bhi steach mu'n ol,
dhuisg an iomarbhaigh na laoich,
Caireall caomh is Momad mor.

Dh' eirich gu spairneachd na suinn,
bu truime na 'n tonn cuilg an cos,
sroinich an cuim chluinnteadh cian,
's an fhiann gu cianail fo sprochd.

Clachan agus talamh trom
threachailteadh le 'm bonn 'san stri,
a cliarachd re fad an la
gun fhios cia dhiubh b'fhearr 'sa ghniomh.

When on the second day they resort to their weapons, Carril is fatally struck down by Goll: Finn bewails him, and the bards strike up the lament for the dead. The death of Goll, the story of which has been handed down in various guises, is set forth in a ballad called "Goll's Testament." This has been preserved in a very truncated form, and it has also been spun out by Kennedy into a more lengthy poem. The death of Garadh is the theme of a ballad composition with which Macpherson had some acquaintance (Temora, p. 36, ed. 1763), and which is based on a tale in the "Agallamh" (Silva Gad., p. 123). Once on a time the Féinne go out to the chase, and leave behind Garadh as the guardian of the women in their house in Formaoil. [88] While he is sleeping on the green sward in the open, some of them tie his hair to a tree, and, on his awakening, he loses both his hair and his scalp. In his frenzy he sets fire to the house, and it, with all its occupants, is thoroughly consumed. Then he hides himself in an earth-pit. The Féinne, horror-struck by the distant gleam of the conflagration, hasten home, and discover the extent of the desolation without suspecting the cause. But Finn, by aid of his

[88] Formaoil is said to be in Leinster (v. Keating, History, p. 347; and Oss. 4. 18). The purport of the poem is also given in the Book of Howth (v. Hammer's Chronicle, p. 62).

mystic gift as seer, divines the incendiary. The culprit is straightway unearthed, and Finn hastily grants his prayer to be beheaded on the King's thigh with the King's own sword, the "Son of Lon," irresistible in its weight, and is himself seriously wounded when Oscar delivers the blow. The "curious catalogue of furniture" which Macpherson details from this poem reads—

Ceud laoch nach druideadh fo sheandachd,
's ceud saor bhean do bhantrachd Fhinn,
ceud cuilean le coileir airgid
dh' fhag sinn 'san teach, 's b'fhada linn.

Ceud macan le'm broilleach shide,
ceud maighdean bu ghrinne meur,
's ceud bean bu mhuim' don mhacraidh,
'fhuair urram an teach nan treun.

Ceud bratach uaine dhathach
'gabhail gaoith' ri gathaibh chrann,
ceud cupan 's ceud fainne sheunta,
ceud clach cheangailt' 's ceud corn cam.

Ceud seuchd 's ceud ceann-bheairt bholgach,
is ceud sgiath le 'n comhdach crann,
is ceud luireach bu loinnreach
fo ur-mhaillibh orbhuidh' ann.

Apparently the ballad shifts the scene of action—the house of Formaoil, with which, it may be said, we have no fuller acquaintance—to Scotland, for only on this assumption can we explain the statement that the Féinne crossed a narrow strait. In it they lost, it is said, one of their number—"Each man sprang to his spear,. Reh's son alone went down in the sound." According to popular etymology, it is from this 'mac Reatha' that "Caol Reidhinn," Kyle Rhea, a narrow strait between the Island of Skye and the Scottish mainland, gets its name.

The tragic acme of the Ossianic poetry is reached in the battle of Gaura, or, in other words, the annihilation of the Féinne. The death of Oscar in the memorable fight is the theme of four ballads. The first, "Is mor an nochd mo chumha fein," and the second, "Aithris duinne, Fhearghuis," are preserved in the Dean's Book; the third, "Innis duinn, a Oisin" (Oss. 1, 74), is almost exclusively of Irish currency; and the fourth, "Cha'n abair mi, thriath, ri m' cheol," is the specially Scottish one, where Oscar is the centre figure. Many editors of the last named have incorporated

individual stanzas from the other ballads, and the ballad supplied Macpherson with material for Book I. of his epic "Temora," printed by him as early as 1762 in his first volume (p. 172 et seq.). Here, as elsewhere, he has plagiarised, distorted, misconstrued, and amplified.

During the absence of Finn on a journey to Rome to find a remedy for the wound he received at the execution of Garadh, the power of the Féinne is ruthlessly curtailed by the over-King, Cairbre, the successor of his father, Cormac. They, in consequence, make a hostile stand, under the leadership of Oscar, the son of Oschin, against the troops of the over-King. Meanwhile Oscar is invited to a feast by Cairbre, who makes a show of conciliation, and, with a considerable retinue, Oscar accepts the invitation—

Fhuair sinn onoir, fhuair sinn miadh,
mar a fhuair sinn roimhe riamh,
gun easbhaidh air fion no ceol
re tri oidhchibh is tri lo.

An oidhche mu dheireadh do'n ol
thuirt an Cairbre le guth mor:
"Iomlaid sleagh' is aill leam uait,
Oscair nan arm faobhar-chruaidh" [89]

"Ciod e 'n iomlaid sleagh 'bhiodh ort,
a Chairbre ruaidh nan longphort?
's gur bu leat mi fein 's mo shleagh
ri am chuir catha no comhraig."

"Cha b' uilear leam cis na cain
na aon seud a bhiodh 'nar tir,
cha b' uilear leam ri m' linn a bhos
gach seud a dh' iarrainn gu'm faighinn."

"Chan eil or na earras gu fior
a dh' iarradh oirnne an righ,
gun tair, gun tailceas duinn deth,
nach bu leats' a thighearnas.

[89] Compare Macpherson's "I behold the spear of Eric. . . Yield it, son of Ossian, yield it to carborne Cairbar" (Temora 1, 213, et seq.)

"Iomlaid cinn gun iomlaid croinn
b' eucorach sud iarraidh oirnn,
's e fath mu'n iarradh tu sin, [90]
sinn bhi gun fheinn, gun athair."

"Ged bhiodh an fhiann is d' athair
'n la a b' fhearr 'bha iad 'nam beatha,
cha b' uilear leamsa ri m' linn
gach seud a dh' iarrainn gu'm faighinn."

"Nam biodh an fhiann is m' athair
'n la b' fhearr 'bha iad 'nam beatha,
chan fhaigheadh thusa, a righ,
leud do throidhe an Eirinn!"

Both Chiefs part in anger. Oscar receives dark predictions as to the issue of the following day, and he hears the ominous croaking of a raven, and sees a witch washing blood-stained clothing, and foretelling his death. And so it happens at the battle of Gaura, where Oscar performs wonders of bravery, slays King Cairbre and his son, Art, who has taken the place of royal honour on the field, but himself succumbs to a mortal wound inflicted by Cairbre's spear. [91] The bard sings—

Do fhuair mise mo mhac fein,
is e na' luigh' air uileann chle,
is e sileadh fhola dheth
trid bhloighdibh a luirich.

Chuir mi bonn mo shleagh' ri lar
is rinn mi os a chionn tamh
ag smuaineachadh le bron an sin,
ciod a dheanainn 'na dhiaidh.

Dh' amhairc an t-Oscar ormsa suas,
is dar leam bu mhor a chruas,
shin e chugam a dhà laimh
chum eirigh am chomhdhail.

[90] Macpherson inserts this—"Are thy words so mighty because Fingal is near?" (Temora 1, 239).

[91] According to the ballad, Cairbre's warriors set the King's helmet on a standard in order to produce the impression that he still lives. This Macpherson utilises in his usual way—"Cairbar creeps in darkness behind a stone," &c. (Temora 1, 282, et seq). In the Irish tradition the procedure in the battle of Gaura was different—*In proclii aestu Carbreus et Osgurus Finnii ex Ossino nepos manus conserunt. Rex vulneribus pertusus aemulum prostravit, sed pugnae se ulterius a Simeone Kirbi filio de Forthartorum sobole interemptus est.* O'Flaherty, Ogygia, p. 341; likewise Kearing, History of Ireland, p. 361.

Ghlac mi lamha mo mhic fein
agus shuidh mi fa na sgeith;
o'n t-suidheadh sin iona ghar
nior chuireas speis 'san t-saoghal.

'S e thuirt rium mo mhac feardha,
is e an deireadh a anma:
"A bhuidhe ris na duilibh sin,
ma tha thusa slan, a athar."

Of the disastrous course of the combats the minstrel Fergus now reports to Finn, who has just returned, and who took no part in them—

"Innis dhuinn, a Fhearghuis,
fhilidh feinne Eireann,
cionnas mar a tharladh
'n cath Ghabhra nam beumann?"

"Ni math, a mhic Chumhaill,
mo sgeul o chath Ghabhra,
cha mhair Osgar ionmhainn,
thug mor chosgar calma.

"Cha mhair seachd mic Chaoilte,
gasraidh feinne Almhainn;
do thuit oig na feinne
ann an eideadh araich.

"Do mharbhadh mac Lughaidh
na sè mic 's an athair,
do thuit oig na Halmhainn,
do mharbhadh fiann Bhreatain.

"Do thuit mac righ Lochlainn
fa leinne bhi 'chomhnadh,
bu chridhe fial feardha,
bu lamh chalma 'n comhnaidh."

"Innis domh, a fhilidh,
mac mo mhic is m'anam,
cionnas a bha Osgar
sgoltadh nan catharra?"

"Bu dheacair r'a innseadh,
do bu mhor an obair,
na robh marbh 's a' chath sin,
thuit le armaibh Osgair.

"Ni'n luaithe eas aibhne
no seabhag ri ealtaibh
no ruith bhuinne srutha
na Osgar 's a' chath sin.

"Do bhi se mu dheireadh
mar bhile ri treun-ghaoith,
mar chrann os gach fiubhaidh,
's a shuil air gach aon laoch . . [92]

"Nior iompaidh sinn Osgar,
gu 'n d' rainig righ Eireann,
gu 'n tug beum gun dichioll,
gur dhochainn e gheur lann.

"'S thuit leis Art mac Chairbre
air an darna buille,
's amhlaidh a bhi am fear sin,
is a mhionn righ uime."

Finn reminds his grandson that he received in former fights equally severe wounds, [93] and was healed by him. But Oscar sees death before him. Thereupon Finn bewails—

[92] Both the last lines are given from Kennedy and Turner's text, as the Dean's Book is not quite intelligible here.

[93] He got, the story goes, such wounds that cranes, or geese, or, indeed, stags could swim through them. In Oss. 1, 122, Cailte can put his hand up to the elbow through Oscar's wounds; and so in the Book of Leinster (85a 13) we are told that if birds in their flight were wont to penetrate human bodies, they could have flown that day through them, since they were riddled with wounds. The Irish narrators are not to be beaten in rhetorical hyperbola. We learn, for instance, of uncouth men, whose hair stands so stiffly on end that if a bushel of apples be emptied on their head, each apple is individually spitted; so violent once is laughter that the trembling stars begin to stagger in the skye; and music is so wondrously enchanting that thirty men die of ecstacy on the spot, and again it is so awful that it can tear out the hair of the listeners.

"'S truagh nach mise a thuit ann
an cath Ghabhra, gniomh nach gann,
is tusa an ear 's an iar
bhi roimh na fiannaibh, Osgair!"

Ag eisdeachd ri bhriathraibh Fhinn
anam as Osgar gur ling,
shìn e uaithe a dhà laimh
's dhun a rosga bha ro-mhall.

"Mo laogh fein thu, laogh mo laoigh,
leinibh mo leinibh ghil chaoimh,
mo chridhe 'leumnaich mar lon,
gu la bhrath chan eirich Osgar." [94]

'S ann an sin a chaoidh Fionn
air an tulaich os ar cionn,
shruth na deoir sios o rosgaibh,
thionndaidh e ruinn a chulthaobh.

Thog sinn ar n-Osgar aluinn
air guailibh 's air sleaghaibh arda;
thug sinn is iomchair grinn,
gus an d'rainig sinn tigh Fhinn.

Donnalaich nan con ri m' thaobh,
agus buirich nan sean laoch,
's gul a' bhannail 'caoidh mu seach,
gu'n b'e sud a chraidh mo chridhe. [95]

Cha chaoineadh bean a mac fein,
ni mò chaoineadh a bhrathair e,
a mheud 's a bha sinne 'n sin,
bha sinn uile caoineadh Osgair. [96]

After the battle of Gaura, in which his foremost warriors fell, Finn sickened, and soon died. His death is said to have been due to treachery, but there is no older ballad on the subject. [97]

[94] Macpherson—"The heart of the aged beats over thee. . . . nevermore shall Oscar rise" (Temora 1, 337, 351; Cf. O'Flanagan, Deirdri, p. 216).

[95] "The groans of aged chiefs, the howling of my dogs, the sudden bursts of the song of grief, have melted Oscar's soul," &c. (Temorr 1, 367 et seq).

[96] "No father mourned his son slain in youth, no brother his brother in ove," &c. (Tomora 1, 357 et seq.)

[97] A Scottish legend (Cb. 195) is in marked disaccord with the Irish (K. Meyer, Ventry, p. 75; Silva Gad., p. 89, cf. LL. 31b 43, 131a 26).

In the Dean's Book, however, a poem has been preserved to us, which Oschin, according to acceptation, dedicates in childlike affection to his lately departed father. It is full of euphony and beauty—

Sè la gus an dè
bho nach faca me Fionn,
chan fhac mi re m' rè
sè a b'fhaide liom.

Mac nighine Thaidg,
righ nam fola * trom,
m'oide is mo thriath,
mo chiall is mo chonn.

Fa filidh, fa flath,
fa righ air gach righ,
Fionn flath righ nam fiann,
fa triath air gach tir.

Fa miol mor mara,
fa leomhan air leirg,
fa seabhag glan gaoith',
fa saoi air gach ceird.

Fa he am miol mor
mac Mhuirne gach maigh,
barr loinneach nan lann,
an crann os gach fiodh. [98]

Fa chosnaich nan gniomh
fa Bhanbha nam ban, [99]
gu'n tug am flath
tri cheud cath fa cheann.

Nior eur ni air neach
dh'iarrar bho Fhionn,
cha robh ach righ greine
righ riamh os a chionn.

* Foghla, Ed.

[98] Translated—"The glittering point of the blades, the shaft of the spear over all wood."

[99] Banba is a name for Ireland: the names most frequently met elsewhere, besides *Eri* (gen.: *Eircann*, dat. and acc.; *Eirinn*—in Scottish Gaelic *Eirinn*, as a rule, in all cases), are *Fodla, Elga, Scotia, Innisfail;* also *Innis nan naomh* 'the Isle of Saints," as in the second stanza below.

Nior fhag beist an loch
na arrachd an uaimh
an Eirinn nan naomh
nar mharbh an saor shaoidh.

Ni hinnsinn a ghniomh,
da bhidheann gu de brath,
nior innseadh bhuaimh
trian a bhuaidh is 'àigh.

Ach is olc ataim
an deidh Fhinn na feinne,
do chaidh leis an fhlath
gach math bha 'n dheidh.

Is tuirseach ataim
an deidh chinn nan ceud,
is me an crann air chrith,
is mo chiabh do m' fhag (?) [100]

Is me a' chno chaoch,
is ne an t-each gun srian,
ochadan mo nuar!
is me an tuath gun triath, &c.

"Oschin after Féinne" (Oisin an deidh na Féinne); the solitary surviving aged hero, who recounts with sorrow the glorious past, is the key-note of all the Ossianic poetry. He is said to have lived on, and in dire want, after the appearance of St Patrick in Elfin, in County Roscommon, the home of the apostle, and, according to the legend, he had to take his share in the compulsory service in the building of the churches. A poem, in which he pourtrays the bitterness of his joyless old age, is to hand in the Dean's book and in "Duanaire Fhinn" (also O'Reilly, Essay, p. 250)—

Is fada 'nochd an Ailfionn,
is fada leinn an oidhche 'n raoir,
an la 'n diu ge fada dhomh,
do bu leor fada an la 'n de.

The legend tells of the frequent meetings of Oschin and St Patrick. On these occasions Oschin was wont to entertain the

[100] Very disputable, as we don't know how the words of the original, "*is me kewe er naik*," are to be transliterated. [This means "is mo chiabh air n-eug." —TRANS.

Saint with the adventures of Finn and the Féinne, or to attend the religious exercises of his friend, and listen to the teaching of Divine truth. Between the Saint and the aged Pagan there occurred more or less passionate disagreements, the settlement of which is the subject of "Oschin's Prayer." This so-called Albano-gaelic ballad, published first by Th. Hill, and last by Al. Cameron in the "Scottish Review 8, 350 et seq. (1886), is made up of two older ballads. The one, "Innis duinn, a Phadraig," we find in the Dean's Book, No. 7, and also in the Irish (Oss. 1, 92-110); the other, "A Oisín, is fada do shuan," appears in "Duanaire Fhinn" and otherwise.[101] Among the Irish the latter is, as a rule, the longer, and in the case of many other ballads it serves as an introduction or investiture. The Scottish revised version begins[102] :—

Innis sgeul, a Phadraig,
an onoir do leughaidh,
a bheil neamh gu haraidh
ag mathaibh feinn' Eirinn.

Bheirinn-sa mo dhearbhadh
dhuitsa-sa Oisin nan glonn,
nach 'eil neamh ag d' athair,
ag Osgar no ag Goll.

'S olc an sgeula araidh
th' agad dhomhsa chleirich!
com am binn-sa ri crabhadh,
mur 'eil neamh ag feinn Eirinn?

Oisin, is fada do shuan,
eirich suas is eisd na sailm!
chaill thu nis do luth 's do rath
's cha chuir thu cath ri la garbh.

[101] E.g., in the Giessen Manuscript of D. Driscoll of the year 1685, p. 56b-58a, where the stanzas are forty. In the Edinburgh Manuscript 62 (Cam. 1, 164), only seventeen stanzas are given.

[102] Herder's translation in the "Adrastea" (Werke 24, 38 et seq.) is based on Young's. Macpherson knew the poem: in his first Dissertations (p. vii. ed. 1762) he says—"It was with one of the Culdees that Ossian, in his extreme old age, is said to have disputed concerning the Christian religion." This Culdee (*i.e.*, *céile Dé*—God's servant) is his "lonely dweller of the rock," the famous MacAlpin, whose proper name Macpherson was ignorant of—"Tradition has not handed down the name of this son of Alpin. His father was one of Fingal's principal bards" (Berrathon, p. 258, ed. 1762).

For long Oschin, whose chief concern is the renown of his father and his race, turns a deaf ear to the appeals of St Patrick, but at last he is converted, and makes his peace with heaven. In the Irish text of the ballad (Oss. 4, 60, 244; Brooke, Relics 2, 414), the Saint speaks thus—

Leig thusa do bheith baoth,
a mhic an righ a b'fhearr cliu!
geill do'n té dognidh gach feart,
crom do cheann is feac do ghlun.

Buail d' ucht is doirt do dheur,
creid do'n té tha os do chionn,
gidh gur b'ioghnadh a luadh,
is e do rug buaidh air Fionn.

Oschin summarises the whole story in his "Prayer," which, according to the Albanogaelic edition goes—

Comraich an dà absdol dheug
gabhaidh mi dhomh fein annochd;
ma rinn mise peacadh trom,
biodh e 'n luidh 'san tom 'sa chnoc!

The last verse varies in the different texts of the ballad. A continuous specification and explanation of such variants of the specimens here contributed would claim more space than their importance and the purpose of this treatise would justify.

31st MARCH, 1898.

On this date an exceptionally well attended meeting was held, at which Mr William Mackay, solicitor, read a valuable paper on "An Inverness Merchant of the Olden Time." Mr Mackay's paper will be included in next volume of the Society's "Transactions."

7th APRIL, 1898.

At this meeting the following gentlemen were elected Ordinary Members of the Society—A. Lee Innes, Esq., Kingsmills, and E. H. Hugonin, Esq., solicitor, Inverness. The paper for the meeting was a contribution by Mr John Whyte, Inverness, entitled, "Orthography for Gaelic Dialects."

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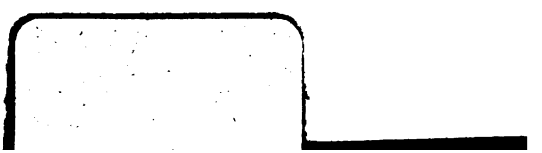
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